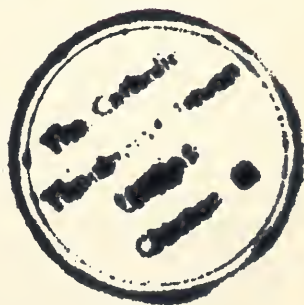


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Cadillac's Early Years in America

The following pages, in their original form, which is here somewhat condensed, were written as the introduction of a book entitled "Cadillac and the Jesuits in the Northwest, 1694-1710." Owing to present-day conditions publication of the book can hardly be expected before the end of the war. This article records the salient facts of Cadillac's career from the year of his arrival in America, about 1683, to the time of his departure for the West in September 1694. Those acquainted with the literature regarding the Founder of Detroit are aware that this decade of his life in America is the least known. In the light of the evidence herein presented the reader will be able to form a critical appraisal of the accounts given by Margry, Campbell, Sheldon, Burton, Laut, and a host of other writers concerning Cadillac's activities during these ten years. All of these accounts are decidedly eulogistic, even panegyric. For the most part they are fictionalized dissertations purporting to be history, and are above all uncritical, since the later writers too often repeat the erroneous statements of their predecessors. Even such a prominent historian as the late Miss Kellogg, in her article on Cadillac in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1929, has nine factual lapses for these ten years. From 1870 to 1930, a great deal of valuable material concerning Cadillac has been brought to light largely through the efforts of civic-minded Detroiters; but the real service which they thus rendered to students of Detroit's early history is greatly minimized by their uncritical use of this material.

A few years ago, while this book on Cadillac was being written, a friend of mine happened to mention it to a self-styled authority on the early history of the Great Lakes region and of the Mississippi Valley. Without knowing anything about the book or about the writer except the fact that he was a Jesuit, this authority dismissed the subject with one word: Propaganda.

Like every one else at that time, I was influenced to some extent by the prevalent epidemic of acute psychological allergy to anything that could be labeled propaganda. But because I had unimpeachable proofs to support every statement I made with regard to the relations between Cadillac and the Jesuits at Michilimackinac and Detroit, the fateful word did not create in me those emotions of shame and self-distrust which the speaker expected automatically to be produced by its mere utterance. This premature verdict, I concluded, could only spring from a repressed fear on the part of the critic that his "history" may not be history after all; and his use of the magic word "propaganda" against a Jesuit investigating Cadillac reminded me of the device resorted to by certain primitive tribes, of beating drums to keep the ghosts away. In the present article, however, the Jesuits do not appear; they are not mentioned once in Cadillac's extant writings between 1683 and 1694, nor do their writings during this period contain any mention of him. What is more, no connection between himself and them throughout this decade is suggested by any contemporary documents in France or in Canada.

Antoine Laumet, better known under his subsequently adopted noble *alias* of Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac, was born on March 5, 1658, in a hamlet which had been named Les Laumets after his family, and was baptized on March 10, in the parish church of Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave, near Caumont, Tarn-et-Garonne. His father Jean Laumet, "advocat en la cour," was the judge at Saint-Nicolas and Caumont. His mother's name was Jeanne Péchagut.¹ We know nothing whatever about his early years. That he received a good education is clear from his letters, which are the wittiest, most interesting, and most picturesque of all the letters sent to Paris from North America from the time of Champlain to the fall of New France. We may add that these same letters are also the most unreliable. Because of the biblical allusions met with in this correspondence, Farmer says that Cadillac's "writings teem with illustrations from and allusions to Bible narratives,"² and he seems to infer from this

¹ Facsimile entry from the baptismal register in A. C. Laut, *Cadillac: Knight Errant of the Wilderness, Founder of Detroit, Governor of Louisiana from the Great Lakes to the Gulf*, Indianapolis, 1931, facing p. 47. C. M. Burton, *A Sketch of the Life of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, the Founder of Detroit*, Detroit, 1895, 5, wrote as follows: "I do not believe that Antoine de Laumet and Antoine de la Mothe are the same persons." They are.

² S. Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, Detroit, 1884, 327.

that Cadillac's religious training was quite unique. This is an exaggeration. The other officers or officials in New France had also received "a religious training"; they knew as much about the Bible as Cadillac did, but they did not believe in purple patches, nor did they feel the need of buttressing false statements by quotations from the inspired writers. Cadillac wrote in a conversational style which abounds far more in picturesque, and often untranslatable homely sayings than in scriptural allusions. When the author just quoted further asserts that Cadillac was a scholar, he is simply indulging in another exaggeration. However painful it may be to civic pride, the truth is that the Gascon verve of the Founder of Detroit was an efficient substitute for scholarship.

While still young, Antoine Laumet entered or was told to enter the army. About 1675, it is said,³ he joined the Dampierre-Lorraine regiment. This first and only mention of the name of the regiment in which he is supposed to have served occurs in one of Cadillac's memorials written forty-three years after the date when he supposedly began his military career.⁴ We are also told that two years later, in 1677, he was already a lieutenant in the Clairambault regiment.⁵ Considering his social status, this appears improbable at first sight and upon examination we find that this rank is one of the many honors conferred by Cadillac upon himself.

This title of lieutenant, which was first publicized by Margry, is mentioned in the Alphabet Lafillard: "De la Motte Cadillac, Lieutenant dans Clairambault, 1687 [*i. e.*, 1677]."⁶ In the middle of the eighteenth century, when he compiled this very useful list, Lafillard made use of documents still extant, by means of which we can check his entries. The promotion list of 1691, for in-

³ The date is given by E. Forestié in an article published in the *Bulletin Archéologique et Historique* de la Société Archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne, XXXV, 1907, 175-196; the article, slightly expanded, was reprinted under the title: *Lamothe-Cadillac. Fondateur de la Ville de Détroit (Michigan), Gouverneur de la Louisiane et de Castelsarrasin. Notes Complémentaires*, [Montauban, 1907], 5. The references will be to the reprint. We must note that we do not know when he joined the army. The date given by Forestié is a surmise based on the fact that several documents examined in the text mention Cadillac as lieutenant in the Clairambault regiment in 1677.

⁴ Archives de la Marine (AM), B 1, 29:273. The memorial dated March 11, 1718, was presented by Cadillac to the Conseil de Marine, the board which, for all that pertained to the administration of the colonies, had succeeded Pontchartrain.

⁵ P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, V, lxiii, hereinafter to be referred to as Margry.

⁶ Alphabet Lafillard, Archives des Colonies (AC), D 2c, 222:556.

stance, has the following item: ". . . another [lieutenancy] for the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac . . . the said Sieur de Lamothe has rendered great services in Acadia and was lieutenant in France."⁷ This information, however, was supplied to Frontenac by Cadillac himself, and is therefore on a par with the statement made by him a year earlier to a clerk in Paris, that he had been an infantry captain!⁸ Significantly, in neither case does he specify the regiment in which he held these commissions. This oversight was not remedied until 1692, when the name of the Clairambault regiment begins to be mentioned in Frontenac's promotion list,⁹ which, like the earlier lists, is based on Cadillac's own statements.

As we shall see, the official Acadian correspondence contains no allusion to his ever having held any rank in the army. Neither in the various lawsuits between 1689 and 1691 before the Sovereign Council, nor in his marriage contract, nor in his declaration to the parish priest who officiated at that ceremony in June 1687, does he suggest that he ever was a lieutenant. Yet he profited by the occasion of his marriage to invent a fantastic family tree which conferred titles of nobility on his father, his mother, and himself; and only those who know little about this boastful Gascon will believe that if he had been a lieutenant in France he would have kept silent about it, especially since the obtaining of this rank in the mother country would have greatly enhanced his prestige in the colony. It is of course conceivable that he was actually raised to this rank and later demoted. But what proof is there for this opinion? Moreover, the rank of lieutenant in the continental armies of Louis XIV was not conferred indiscriminately, nor was it ordinarily given to nineteen-year-old commoners. This can be seen from what happened to Cadillac's eldest son. Only in 1714, when Antoine junior was twenty-two years old, did his father succeed, after much trouble and many petitions, in securing for him a lieutenancy in the colonial troops, though Cadillac himself, then governor of Louisiana, was thought to belong to the nobility.

⁷ Etat des emplois vauquants auxquels Mr. le comte de Frontenac . . . a pourveu en l'année 1691 en attendant la commission de Sa Majesté, AC, C 11A, 11:222.

⁸ AC, C 11D, 2:119.

⁹ "Lamotte Cadillac. En 1677, lieutenant dans Clerembault; en 1691, lieutenant en Canada par Mr. de Frontenac où il est marié et establi, bon officier"; list of October 5, 1692, in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (BRH), XXXIV, 1928, 602. Cf. also the list of 1695, in E. Richard, *Supplement to Dr. Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives*, 1899, Ottawa, 1901, 26.

Thirty-five years after discovering the regiment in which he had held a commission of lieutenant, he wrote to the Conseil de Marine in the memorial already mentioned:

He is hoping that the Council will take his services into consideration. He has been a cadet in the Dampierre-Lorraine regiment, a garde de la marine, a naval ensign, a captain in Canada; he has been commandant at Michilimackinac and at Fort Pontchartrain on the Strait of Lake Erie, and was lately Governor of Louisiana.

We observe that the lieutenancy in the Clairambault regiment, a much higher rank than that of a cadet in the Dampierre-Lorraine regiment, is passed over in silence. As for being a "garde-marine," this did not involve a military rank. Cadillac never attended the exclusive gardes-marine school, but on January 1, 1694, together with many other officers in Canada, he received a "certificat de garde-marine."¹⁰ The effect of this certificate was simply to enroll him in the navy,¹¹ to which he did not previously belong, and without it he could not have been made naval ensign.

In or about 1683,¹² when he was twenty-five, Antoine Laumet landed in Acadia. As yet nobody has found out why he left France.¹³ The "fogs of the Garonne" which obscured the "ori-

¹⁰ Expéditions signées pour le Canada depuis le mois d'Octobre 1693, May 12, 1694, AC, D^e, 52.

¹¹ Since Sabrevois, who was asking to be made a naval ensign, "is not enrolled in the Navy, all he can hope for is thus become a garde[-marine], thus joining this branch of the service"; November 2, 1693, *ibid.*

¹² This is Margry's inference, V, lxiii, note 1, based on a letter dated August 31, 1703, *ibid.*, 308, in which Cadillac says that he has been twenty years in Canada or Acadia; the statement is repeated in an annotated résumé of this letter, AC, C 11E, 14:140. His name does not appear in the nominal census of 1686, printed in B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, 8 volumes, Montreal, 1882-1884, VI, 6-9, and in E. Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une Colonie féodale en Amérique: L'Acadie (1604-1881)*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1889, II, 394-402. The latter remarks, I, 184, note 1, that the names of many others whom we know were in Acadia that year are not on this census. In a memoir on the limits of Acadia of 1720, Cadillac speaks of his being there in 1685, *Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique*, 7:79v. Cf. also another memoir attributed to Cadillac in Rameau, *Une Colonie*, II, 300-301. Farmer, *The History*, 327, is quite correct when he says that "the date [*i. e.*, the exact year] of his arrival in the New World is unknown."

¹³ A. C. Laut is the only one who knows that "by 1683 he [Cadillac] was out in America on a secret message for the king"; and that at this date "though only twenty-five, he was already a lieutenant-colonel." *Cadillac*, 49. This "first biography to have been written about that great soldier [?] and administrator [!]" in America for France Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, "is the work, says the publisher's review notice, of "the logical person" who has "made history as fascinating as fiction." The last clause should be changed to read "... has substituted fiction for history." There is little in this biography except fiction, and in almost every page errors have been added to the few facts on which the book is based. Chronology

gins of this personage" have been dispelled,¹⁴ and the true names of his father and mother have been ascertained, but why he came to America is still a matter of conjecture. Six years after the inferred date of his arrival, Meneval, the governor of Acadia, wrote to the minister that there was at Port Royal [Annapolis, Nova Scotia], "one Cadillac, the most malicious man in the world, a rattle-headed fellow, driven out of France for I know not what crimes."¹⁵ Is it because of these "crimes" that Antoine Laumet gave a false name when he arrived in Acadia? As will be seen, it is more than likely that he had reasons for not revealing his true identity until many years after his arrival.

In the preceding year, 1682, Lefebvre de la Barre had succeeded Frontenac as governor-general of New France. The affairs of the colony were then in a precarious state.¹⁶ At home there was disunion, squabbles, turmoil. The increasing number of those leaving for the wilderness to live as *coureurs de bois* had become a real menace, for it deprived the settled portions of the colony of its most energetic and most daring defenders in the event of attack by the traditional enemy, the English. But the greatest danger was from the Iroquois: "Even Frontenac had been compelled in the last year of his government to leave unpunished various acts of violence and plunder committed by the Iroquois."¹⁷ These Indians badly needed the hunting grounds of the West, for the supply of beaver skins in their territory had dwindled almost to nothing, and their existence as a tribe de-

is cast to the winds, imaginary events or journeys are described as though they were real, wrong titles or statuses are given to many actors, etc. Of the five parts of the book, however, that which treats of Cadillac's governorship in Louisiana is the most inaccurate, the most replete with errors.

¹⁴ Margry, V, lxiii, note 1.

¹⁵ AC, C 11D, 2:126v. J.-E. Roy wrote that in his father's will Antoine "y reçoit 500 livres pour toute légitime"; *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada*, Ottawa, 1911, 999. This author made use of Forestié's article, but in condensing it, he gives a sinister interpretation unwarranted by the terms of the will of Jean Laumet, for Antoine's younger brother and his three sisters also received "500 livres pour toute légitime"; Jeanne Péchagut, their mother, was the universal legatee, and she could bequeath what she pleased to any of these children. It is probably Roy's wording that led Webster to say: "He [Cadillac] seems to have had some serious disagreement with his father, who did not forgive him, for, on his death, all his property was left to his other children"; *Acadia at the end of the Seventeenth Century*, Saint John, N. B., 1934, 167. It is clear that this author did not read the will of Jean Laumet; for it is François, the eldest son, who was not forgiven by his father; cf. Forestié, *Lamothe-Cadillac*, 9-10.

¹⁶ F. Parkman, *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, Boston, 1891, 79.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 80. Cf. La Barre to Seignelay, November 4, 1683, in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), IX, Albany, 1855, 201.

pended on their remaining the middlemen between the Indians and the Europeans. In 1679 and 1680, they had begun inroads against the Illinois, and were threatening the tribes of the Northwest who were allies of France and who were dealing directly with the French. The merchants of Quebec believed that if the Iroquois defeated the Ottawa, or formed an alliance with them, the commerce of New France, which depended almost entirely on the peltry trade, would surely be wrecked even if, by some unexpected good fortune, the colony itself escaped destruction. Like his predecessor, La Barre engaged in trade; but the merchants with whom he dealt were the group who had been Frontenac's "enemies."

There were in Canada three views current with regard to the Iroquois situation. The merchants, who would be ruined if the Iroquois wiped out or allied themselves with the Western tribes, formed what may be called the war party. Others agreed that the Iroquois should be defeated, but held that troops from France were needed before opening a campaign. This group included the Jesuits of Quebec.¹⁸ There was also the peace party, to which belonged the Jesuit missionaries in the Iroquois country. Their standard bearer was Father Jean de Lamberville, "who had long lived among the Iroquois, and knew them better than they knew themselves."¹⁹ La Barre had flattered himself that if he attacked the Seneca, the four other Iroquois tribes would remain neutral. Lamberville took every opportunity to assure the governor that this was a mistake. He foretold the evils that would befall Canada if war was declared and warned the governor that the whole Iroquois nation was prepared for battle.²⁰ All to no avail. Urged by the merchants of the war party, La Barre took the field. The result is well known. At the Anse de la Famine [Salmon River], the treaty of peace was dictated by the Indians.²¹ La Grande Gueule, Chief Big Mouth, declared that his fellow Iroquois would continue to fight the Illinois to the death. He insisted that the governor move the council fire from Fort Frontenac to the Iroquois country, and demanded that the French return to Quebec the day after the signature of the treaty.²²

¹⁸ Conference on the State of Affairs with the Iroquois, October 10, 1682, NYCD, IX, 194-195.

¹⁹ Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, 95.

²⁰ Lamberville to La Barre, February 10, July 10, July 11, July 13, 1684, NYCD, IX, 226, 252, 253, 254, etc.

²¹ Accounts of the campaign by La Barre, De Meulles, Callières, in NYCD, IX, 239 ff.

²² Cf. the speech of Chief Big Mouth, *ibid.*, 236-239.

When these humiliating conditions of peace became known in France, the king recalled La Barre and sent Denonville to replace him. If the situation of New France was dark at the arrival of La Barre, it was darker still when Denonville landed at Quebec at the beginning of August 1685. The new governor was expected to restore the prestige of the French in America.²³ For two years he made secret preparations, meanwhile carrying on an exchange of letters with Governor Dongan of New York to divert the attention of the latter. By the spring of 1687, he was ready for action. The unjustifiable treachery practiced upon the Iroquois at the outset of the campaign in that year,²⁴ and the events which followed, need not be recounted here. The net result of this war consisted in the destruction of four Iroquois villages, a massacre of the hogs found therein, and a devastation of the surrounding fields. In the course of this encounter with the Seneca, some fifty Indians were killed and some three score dangerously wounded. The slaughtered hogs continued the fight on behalf of their masters. Overindulgence in fresh pork caused an epidemic of dysentery among the French troops. The governor precipitately left the Iroquois country for Niagara where he built a fort, and then returned to Montreal.²⁵

These two campaigns have been briefly mentioned because some writers have advanced the view that Cadillac took part in both, and still others say that he took part in the second. As a matter of fact he participated in neither. He could not have been a member of the second expedition, for on June 25, 1687, he

²³ Cf. the king's instructions to Denonville, NYCD, IX, 271.

²⁴ Margry, V, xxxvi, absolves Denonville and holds the intendant, Champigny, guilty of the treachery. H. Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, Paris, 1895, 332, 342, 370, gravely repeats Margry's absurd assertions. The author of the scheme was Denonville who was carrying out general instructions sent by the Court of France; Champigny merely executed the plan. Cf. the letter of Jean de Lamberville in C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1895-1896, III, 613-620, and the texts gathered by D. Girouard, "Une page sombre de notre Histoire.—L'expédition du Marquis de Dnonville," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 2, V, 1899, section 1, 87-101. Margry saw all the evidence quoted by Girouard, but preferred to it the recollections of Gédéon de Catalogne, who in 1687 was a private in the colonial troops. Lorin also saw the evidence but for apparent reasons, he preferred to follow in the wake of Margry. This is but one of the many instances of the "impartiality," of the "zeal for truth" of this sorry pair. Yet, according to popularizers, these two and others of their ilk are the only ones free from bias; and according to self-styled "truth-seekers," any departure from the falsifications of the Margrys and the Lorins can only be caused by prejudice or a preconceived viewpoint.

²⁵ Cf. Denonville's account to Seignelay, August 27, 1687, *ibid.*, 336-344, and the governor's memoir of October 1687, *ibid.*, 358-369; F. Vachon de Belmont, *Histoire du Canada*, Quebec, 1840, II, no. 4, 19-26.

married Marie-Thérèse Guyon in Quebec, and this was exactly two weeks after Denonville's army had left Montreal.²⁶ As for the first campaign, his name does not appear in the roll call of officers who were at Fort Frontenac on August 14, 1684, when La Barre signed this document.²⁷

At the time of this first campaign, Cadillac was engaged in quite a different enterprise. Not long after his coming to Port Royal, he had met with François Guyon, a privateer who stopped there to equip his vessel for a voyage. Sailing off with this experienced mariner, the recently arrived emigrant proved an apt pupil, and the information which he gained about the New England coast on this and subsequent voyages was later highly thought of by the French government. "While serving under Guyon, he visited the latter's home at Beauport [near] Quebec, and fell in love with Marie-Thérèse Guyon, the daughter of Denis, elder brother of François Guyon,"²⁸ marrying her, as mentioned above, in 1687.

It is traditionally held that Cadillac boisterously entered history in 1686 when he quarreled with Sabrevois. This, however, is a case of mistaken identity. The Chevalier de La Mothe who inflicted a severe wound on Sabrevois by throwing a candlestick at him,²⁹ was not Cadillac at all. In the procès-verbal and in the letter of Denonville the rank of the culprit is mentioned as that of a lieutenant in the Valrennes company. As we have already seen, Cadillac did not become a lieutenant until 1691, *i. e.*, five years after the tavern brawl at Quebec. It should also be noted that the title "chevalier" is one which, for all his boldness, Cadillac never assumed. In the seventeenth century, this title, besides being given to those belonging to the old military orders, was reserved for the eldest son of a baron, the third son of a count, or the fifth son of a marquis. Antoine Laumet was not the eldest but the second son of Jean Laumet, who was neither a baron, nor a count, nor a marquis. The Chevalier de La Mothe here mentioned was in fact Louis de La Rue.³⁰ In November 1686, that is, six months after the Sabrevois affair, Denonville wrote to Seignelay that he was sending the assaulter to France,

²⁶ Champigny to Seignelay, July 16, 1687, NYCD, IX, 332.

²⁷ NYCD, IX, 234-236.

²⁸ J. C. Webster, *Acadia at the end of the Seventeenth Century*, 167.

²⁹ The doctor's certificate, dated May 6, 1686, is in AC, C 11A, 8:212-213v; the testimony of the witnesses, *ibid.*, 205-208, is translated in the *Collections and Researches* made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society (MHS), XXXIII, 1904, 36-39.

³⁰ Cf. "Les La Mothe du Régime français," BRH, XL, 1934, 53. He came to Canada in 1685, cf. AC, D², 52, March 5, 1685.

because there was no jail in Quebec where the condemned man could safely be kept during the remaining eighteen months of his prison sentence.³¹ So to France he went, but returned to Canada the following year by order of the king.³²

In 1688, this same Chevalier de La Mothe was major at Niagara; he it was who, on September 15, drew up the procès-verbal of the "condition in which the Fort of Niagara was left," when the French abandoned it.³³ In June 1690, being then a half-pay captain, he was sent by Frontenac to patrol the St. Lawrence below Lake St. Peter,³⁴ and was soon afterwards killed in a skirmish with an Iroquois party, near Fort St. Francis, on Lake St. Peter, September 22, 1690.³⁵

It is to be hoped that this conclusive identification of the Lamothe who wounded Sabrevois in 1686 will deter future biographers of Cadillac and future historians of the city of Detroit from adding to the wealth of fine writing or touches of ponderous humor that their predecessors have already inflicted on the patient reader in connection with this episode.

On June 25, 1687, the marriage of Antoine Laumet to Marie-Thérèse Guyon took place in Quebec.³⁶ The birth certificate which he gave himself on this occasion is gasconade of the first water. He was, he declared,

Antoine de Lamothe, Escuyer, Sieur de Cadillac, domiciled at Port Royal, Acadia, about twenty-six years of age, son of the late Jean de Lamothe, Sieur of the said place of Cadillac, and of Launay and Montet, Councillor *au* Parlement of Toulouse, his father, and of Dame Jeanne de Malenfant, his mother.

Any biography of the Founder of Detroit is certain to be worthless unless the writer bears in mind the following fundamental rule: No statement by Cadillac is ever to be accepted unless corroborated by independent evidence. This rule is made

³¹ Denonville to Seignelay, November 10, 1686, AC, C 11A, 8:137.

³² Louis XIV's order of March 30, 1687, AC, B, 13:180. Cf. the explanation in the King's letter to Denonville and Champigny, March 30, 1687, T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, eds., "The French Foundations 1680-1693," *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, XXIII, '1934, 110.

³³ NYCD, IX, 386-388.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 474.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 482.

³⁶ Facsimile of the entry in the Quebec Cathedral register in MHS, XXXIII, 1904, 308. There are several mistakes in the transcription given by T. P. Bédard, "Le Mariage de Lamothe-Cadillac," *Revue Canadienne*, XIX, 1883, 104-105. Cadillac's marriage contract dated June 21, 1687, is among the Genaple papers preserved in the Archives Judiciaires at Quebec. A copy of this contract was kindly sent to me by M. Antoine Roy, Archivist of the Province of Quebec.

necessary by the fact that whenever there is a reference to a matter in which his interests are at stake, almost every statement of his which can be checked has turned out to be inaccurate, misleading, or totally false. Thus in the above declaration, made on the day of his marriage, every statement is false except the Christian names of his father and mother and the name of his domicile.

His age was not "about twenty-six," but over twenty-nine. Four days earlier, when the marriage contract was drawn up, he had told the notary that he was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years old. His father's name was plain Jean Laumet, who was not *Sieur* nor *Seigneur* of anything, but a judge—and an unworthy one at that³⁷—at Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave. His father was not a councillor, but had been merely a lawyer, formerly an "*avocat en Parlement de Toulouse*,"³⁸ and not, as is said here "*au Parlement de Toulouse*."³⁹ His mother's name was not Malenfant, but Péchagut; she had no right to either "Dame" or "de," being the descendant of a long line of merchants, doctors, and consuls of Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave.

Burton explains the origin of the name Lamothe as follows:

He [Cadillac] became a man of considerable importance to the French government in consequence of his knowledge of the New England Sea Coast, and in recommending him for promotion his superior officer called him La Mothe. This name, which was quite common in France, clung to him and soon he adopted it, and thereafter passed by it.⁴⁰

Yet it was Burton himself, ten years earlier, who had published both in the original and in translation the marriage declaration of Cadillac⁴¹ which we have just been discussing, and in this

³⁷ "Dans le Comminges . . . il faut signaler . . . en Lomagne, petite région du Bas-Armagnac: Jean Laumet, juge de Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave, canton de Castelsarrasin (Tarn-et-Garonne); Jean Rouchon, juge de Lavit, canton de Castelsarrasin (Tarn-et-Garonne), tous deux faussaires et ce dernier, notamment, coupable d'avoir tué sa femme en place publique à coups de bâton"; C. Barrière Flavy, *La chronique criminelle d'une grande province sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1926, 74, note 1.

³⁸ See the last will of Jean Laumet, Cadillac's father, dated October 8, 1684, in Forestié, *Lamothe-Cadillac*, 8-9: "M^e Jean Laumet, docteur ès-droits, avocat en parlement, juge dudit Saint-Nicolas et Caumont. . . ."

³⁹ An "*avocat en Parlement*" was a lawyer who had taken the prescribed training for the lawyer's profession but did not practice in Paris, Toulouse, Rennes, Aix, or wherever the Parlement had its seat, while the "*avocat au Parlement*" was regularly attached to the court and practiced in the judicial city.

⁴⁰ C. M. Burton, *Early Detroit*, Detroit, 1909, 5. Cf. the variants of this statement in *The City of Detroit Michigan 1701-1922*, 5 volumes, Detroit and Chicago, 1922, I, 75; and in *History of Wayne County and the City of Detroit, Michigan*, 4 volumes, Detroit and Chicago, 1930, I, 31, note 1.

⁴¹ C. M. Burton, *In the Footsteps of Cadillac*, 1899, not paginated.

document, dated five years before the above-mentioned recommendation for promotion, we have seen the name Lamothe put down as his own by Cadillac himself.

As for the name Cadillac, Burton goes on to say, "it was assumed from landed possessions owned by him." In the marriage contract and in the declaration his father is indeed said to be Sieur de Cadillac, but it is apparent from the last will of Jean Laumet that no "Cadillac" was included among his landed possessions. Moreover, even if Antoine's father had owned land bearing that name, he himself, as a younger son, would have no right to the title. Indeed, when signing his name to the church register on this occasion, he was careful not to write "Cadillac," but took the second name, "Launay," which he had also invented, and which would have been his as the second son if it were genuine.

The discrepancy between his father's and mother's true names, and their names as given in the Cathedral register, "may be accounted for," Farmer would have us believe, "by the probability that the record was carelessly taken down, or hurriedly written."⁴² This simply will not do. If it were a question of misspelling, or only a slight alteration in the names, such a probability might be considered; but no matter how careless one may be, one does not write down "Cadillac" when one is told that the name is "Laumet"; and no matter in how much of a hurry a priest may be, he will hardly write "Malenfant" when a bridegroom says "Péchagut." Moreover, on this hypothesis we have to assume that Genaple, the royal notary, who drew up the marriage contract four days previously with the same names and the same titles therein, was just as hurried or just as careless as was the parish priest of the Cathedral who made the entry in the register. Farmer seems to have thought that the credulity of his readers was limitless.

The only serious inquiry into this change of name is the one made by Edouard Forestié.⁴³ He notes, in the first place, that Antoine Laumet "must have had some reasons for changing his name," and he adds that such changes were a common practice of the time, as is shown by the lists of officers of the Clairambault regiment. This example is hardly to the point, for our only evidence that Cadillac ever belonged to this regiment comes from Cadillac himself, who "remembered" ten years after com-

⁴² Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, 327.

⁴³ Forestié, *Lamothe-Cadillac*, 5-7.

ing to America that this was the regiment in which he had been a lieutenant. Of course, as Forestié says further, "it is possible that Louis XIV granted letters of nobility when our hero was most prominent, as he did for Cavelier de la Salle"; but there is no trace of such patents, and moreover, "our hero" was not at all prominent at this stage of his career. In 1687, he was an obscure immigrant resident at Port Royal who had come to Quebec to get married.

The fact that the king granted "an important seigneurie with all the rights attached thereto" does not imply a grant of nobility. Many settlers in New France were not only granted more important seigneuries than this, but were also more prominent and more deserving than Cadillac, yet they received no letters of nobility. The particle "de," very common in the colony at that time, indicates either the town from which a person came, or the name of some landed property. Bourgeois and commoners were so eager to imitate the genuine nobility in this respect that when they had no estate worth mentioning they would use the name of the street in which some house of theirs stood.⁴⁴ It is quite evident that such "titles," which any one could use, hardly made their bearers members of the second estate.

We may be quite sure that if Louis XIV had granted letters of nobility to him, Cadillac would have let no occasion pass of mentioning this fact. Yet in the thousands of pages which he wrote during the quarter century of his public career in Acadia, Canada, the Northwest, and Louisiana, there is not a word about his having been granted such letters. It is clear enough that in 1687 Cadillac found it easier to confer upon his father a patent of nobility and a high-sounding name than to petition the king for these honors. Thereafter it was even easier to appropriate this name to himself as though he were the eldest son. And in later years when his services might have made such a petition less futile, there was no point in asking for nobility, since he was supposed to be already a "gentilhomme."⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Cf. the illuminating study of R. La Roque de Roquebrunne, "Particules, surnoms, titres et armoiries," *Nova Francia*, V, 1930, 363-369. The main privilege of the nobility was exemption from the famous *taille*; since this tax was never levied in New France, except as a mark of honor, a title of nobility meant little or nothing there.

⁴⁵ It was all well and good for Antoine Laumet to ennoble himself in Canada; but in France, probably when an attempt was made to take advantage of the "patent of nobility" of 1687, trouble arose. Among the Margry papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Mss. fr. n. a., 9299, folio 1, there is the following note: "Archives de la Préfecture de la Gironde. Cadillac.—Correspondance de M. M. Les intendants Boutin et de Nevillé relativement aux contestations soulevées contre la Famille de Lamothe au sujet des

Forestié further inquires why of all possible names Antoine Laumet chose "this double name 'Lamothe Cadillac' rather than any other." From a study of the baptismal and marriage records as well as of the notarial papers of Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave he arrived at what seems to us a very plausible answer. He found that the "names Lamothe and Cadillac were, if not frequent, those of a few families," and after reluctantly admitting that Antoine Laumet's fantastic birth certificate written at the time of his marriage is "absolutely false," Forestié thinks that the names Lamothe and Cadillac "must have been suggested to him by a baptismal record in the parochial registers of Saint-Nicolas." After giving the wording of Cadillac's marriage declaration as found in the register of the Cathedral of Quebec, he continues as follows:

Our man, who was born in 1658, had been present in 1669 when he was about twelve years old at the baptism of his cousin, Jean de Corbières, whom *Dame Anne de Malenfant* de Pressac, wife of Messire Sylvestre de Lussan, seigneur and baron *de Lamothe*, held over the baptismal font.

We may well believe that [Antoine Laumet] . . . in thus altering the names of his parents on the day of his marriage was primarily interested in diverting inquiries about his identity, should one ever think of investigating it.

As we have said above, any one could use the particle "de" irrespective of his nobility. What was forbidden in France and in the colonies was to add "escuyer [écuyer]" to one's name. The classic example in France is that of Jean de La Fontaine.⁴⁶ This poet was sued not because he had called himself "de" La Fontaine, but because in a notarial act he had assumed the title "écuyer." Louis XIV had issued an explicit edict on this matter, three years before Antoine Laumet officially gave himself this title in the presence of the notary in Quebec. "We have been informed," said the king, "that several settlers of the country of Canada or New France presume to take the title of écuyer in public and judiciary acts, which is contrary to the usage of the kingdom, where only true noblemen may use this title." To remedy this abuse, he continues, any one who in the future calls himself écuyer in public or judiciary acts will be fined 500 livres. De Meulles, the intendant of New France, was ordered to enforce

titres de noblesse.—Archives de la Gironde—Série C 128 et C 131." I have been unable to consult these archives which should throw new light on Antoine Laumet and on his coat of arms.

⁴⁶ Cf. La Roque de Roquebrunne, *loc. cit.*, 365.

the edict.⁴⁷ Seignelay's covering letter which accompanied the royal edict and makes clear its intent, contains the further injunction not to molest the commoners who have already called themselves écuyers, but to enforce the royal will in this matter in the future.⁴⁸

In spite of this recommendation of the minister, De Meulles made the edict retroactive, and obliged those who had previously called themselves écuyers to bring forward evidence of their right to the title. This they were to do within six months if such evidence was in Canada, or within one year if the documents were in France. Six months later, the same ordinance was read by the town crier of Montreal and placarded there.⁴⁹ But the intendant and the Sovereign Council were helpless to enforce it. Neither had the means of investigating the genuinity of unauthenticated copies of documents which might be presented to them, and besides, they had other things to do.⁵⁰ The royal edict remained in the statutes, and was occasionally enforced, as may be seen from the action taken by Raudot against François Mariauchau, Sieur d'Esgly, in 1709.⁵¹ But Champigny, during whose term as intendant Cadillac began to call himself écuyer, was more easygoing; in any event it was impossible to investigate the claims of every adventurer who came to Canada and adopted this title.

Cadillac's title of "chevalier" originated, as we have seen, with later writers who confused Louis de la Rue with Antoine Laumet. Farmer wrote: "In 1688 he was styled, in official documents, a Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis."⁵² Cadillac would indeed have been a remarkable man if he had actually belonged to the "Ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis" in 1688, five years prior to its creation by Louis XIV on April 5, 1693. We read in Laut: "He had not yet [in 1710] been granted a baronetcy, but was decorated with a higher knighthood—the Order of St. Louis."⁵³ This statement is rather sur-

⁴⁷ E. Z. Massicotte and R. Roy, *Armorial du Canada Français*, série 2, Montreal, 1918, xii.

⁴⁸ Seignelay to Meulles, April 10, 1684, AC, B 11:24.

⁴⁹ Massicotte and Roy, *op. cit.*, xiii; Massicotte, *Montréal sous le Régime Français*, Montreal, 1919, 30-31.

⁵⁰ See the pamphlet of H.-A. V[erreau], *Quelques notes sur Antoine de Lamothe de Cadillac*, n. p., n. d., 6. In the lawsuit of 1689, it is not the Sovereign Council but Cadillac who called himself "écuyer." When asked to identify himself, he told the judges in 1689 that he was "écuyer," just as he had told Genaple and M. Dupré in 1687.

⁵¹ La Roque de Roquebrunne, *loc. cit.*, 365.

⁵² Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, 327.

⁵³ Laut, *Cadillac*, 170.

prising in view of the fact that knighthood in that military order was not knighthood at all, but merely a recognition of services rendered in the king's armies. It becomes still more astounding when we find Cadillac asking for the cross of St. Louis on August 5, 1712,⁵⁴ two years after the date on which the above-quoted author has decorated him. Four months later, December 20, 1712, Pontchartrain writes to inform Cadillac that he will get the coveted decoration if his governorship in Louisiana is a success.⁵⁵ Since in this capacity he was such a notable failure, he did not receive the cross of St. Louis while in America.

The late Aegidius Fauteux listed Cadillac⁵⁶ among those who received the cross of St. Louis "at an unknown date"; his authority is an inventory made in 1735 [*i. e.*, 1731], the year after Cadillac's death. According to this document, the "sieur Joseph de Lamothe Cadillac . . . son of the late Messire Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac, former governor of Louisiana and chevalier de l'ordre militaire de Saint-Louis . . .," appeared before the judge who certified the inventory.⁵⁷ There are, however, much earlier mentions of this decoration. The earliest which we know of is in a memorial presented to the Conseil de Marine at the end of 1719.⁵⁸ Hence he must have been made chevalier de l'ordre militaire de Saint-Louis between the date of his release from the Bastille, February 8, 1718, and the end of 1719.

Besides conferring nobility upon his father, his mother, and himself, and besides calling himself "écuyer," Cadillac forged a coat of arms, which, wrote Forestié, "the City of Detroit communicated to us as being his," and which as a result of its being displayed on a de luxe automobile has become familiar to everybody in this country. The following is a translation of Forestié's comments on this coat of arms:

Now the first and fourth quarters are merely the arms of the Lamothe Bardigues branch of the Esparbes de Lussan family bearing argent, a fess gules, between three martlets sable, posed two in chief and one in base. [Cadillac] changed merely the tinctures, keeping the charges and the form of the shield unaltered. He also quartered these arms with those of Viviès in Languedoc or of Albret in Gascony.

⁵⁴ Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 5, 1712, AC, C 13A, 2:685.

⁵⁵ Pontchartrain to Cadillac, December 20, 1712, AC, B 34:158-158v.

⁵⁶ Ae. Fauteux, *Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis en Canada*, Montreal, 1940, 212.

⁵⁷ Forestié, *Lamothe-Cadillac*, 12.

⁵⁸ MHS, XXXIII, 622. Cf. also the land grant of July 23, 1720, *ibid.*, 670; the arrest en faveur du S^r de la Mothe Cadillac of May 19, 1722, AC, B 45:869 and 885, and his appointment as mayor of Castelsarrasin in September 1722, MHS, XXXIV, 298.

This being so, the noble qualities and admirable virtues symbolized by "the colors used" in the second and third quarters of this coat of arms have nothing at all to do with Antoine Laumet, for these quarters are the arms of a town. And the still more famous history epitomized in the first and fourth quarters belongs not to any "forbears of the Father of Detroit" but to the Lamothe Bardigues branch of the Esparbes de Lussan family with whom he cannot claim any relationship.⁵⁹

After Cadillac's marriage, the bride and bridegroom returned to Port Royal. In May 1688, Cadillac petitioned the governor of New France for a land grant, and received from him in July a fief of twenty-five square miles on the Douaguek [Union River, Maine]. The seigneurie included Mt. Desert Island and the other islands opposite the mainland property; the whole was asked for because the petitioner desired "to begin an establishment there, to clear and till the land."⁶⁰ This grant was ratified by the king the following year,⁶¹ but the concession was never actually developed. On September 2, 1689, his friend Desgoutins wrote that Cadillac was still "resolved" to start a considerable establishment in Maine.⁶² In October 1689, he was engaged, as will be seen, in more congenial work than clearing the land, and after 1690 he was far too busy to have any time left for such prosaic occupation.

Very interesting information about Cadillac's activities at Port Royal between 1687 and 1689 is found in the letters of M. de Meneval. These two years are typical of the entire thirty years of his stay in America.

Louis-Alexandre Desfriches, Seigneur de Meneval,⁶³ appointed

⁵⁹ Cf. the pamphlet issued by the Cadillac Motor Car Company, *The Coat of Arms of Le Sieur Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac*, Detroit, 1922, reprinted in 1931. E. Z. Massicotte and R. Roy, *Armorial du Canada Français*, série 1, Montreal, 1915, 109, wrote: "On ignore si ces armes furent enregistrées." We are also ignorant of the date when these arms first appeared, we do not know whether Cadillac concocted them in Canada, in Louisiana, or after his return to France in 1717.

⁶⁰ *Collection de manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, 4 volumes, Quebec, 1883-1885, I, 427-428; translation in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, second series, being Volume VII of the *Documentary History of State of Maine*, Portland, 1901, 382-384.

⁶¹ Confirmation of concessions a plusieurs particuliers de Canada, May 24, 1689, AC, B 15:73; translation in *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Portland, 1902, VIII, 1-2.

⁶² Desgoutins to Seignelay, September 2, 1689, AC, C 11D, 2:158.

⁶³ P.-G. Roy, "Qui était M. de Meneval, Gouverneur de l'Acadie?" in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1920-1921 (RAPQ)*, Quebec, 1921, 257-304. This article is reprinted in *Les petites choses de notre histoire*, sixième série, Lévis, 1931, 101-113.

governor of Acadia March 1, 1687⁶⁴ arrived at Port Royal during the summer of that year. At the same time a Sieur de Gargas was appointed chief clerk [écrivain principal],⁶⁵ and a Sieur de Miramont, garde-marine, was to be in command of the Port Royal garrison.⁶⁶ They did not remain in Acadia very long. A royal memorial dated March 8, 1688, contains the following paragraph:

[The king] being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Sieur de Miramont, sent last year to command the soldiers [of Port Royal], has ordered him to return to France and is sending another officer to take his place. He is also recalling the Sieur de Gargas, chief clerk, about whose conduct he has [also] received complaints. His functions will be exercised by a capable lawyer [avocat habile] who will be sent thither to administer justice.⁶⁷

From a letter of Seignelay written a month later to the governor of Acadia, we learn the reason of their recall:

Sir, I have been informed by M. de Lagny of the little satisfaction you have with the conduct of the Sieurs de Miramont and de Gargas,⁶⁸ and I am ordering you to have them return to France. The said Sieur de Miramont will be replaced by the Sieur de Soulogne [Soulègre], with whom, I hope, you will be satisfied; and the said Sieur de Gargas by the Sieur Gouttin,⁶⁹ lawyer, who [besides being chief clerk] will also function as lieutenant-general of Port Royal.⁷⁰

Seignelay's hope that the governor would be satisfied with the new arrivals was soon disappointed, for Meneval wrote to

⁶⁴ AC, B 13:144. His powers were registered at Quebec October 20, 1687, *Édits, ordonnances royaux*, . . . 3 volumes, Quebec, 1854-1856, III, 89-90; *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, III, 189.

⁶⁵ His instructions dated April 5, 1687, are in AC, B 13:191-193v. Cf. Seignelay to Champigny, March 30, 1687, *ibid.*, 172v. On Gargas, cf. W. I. Morse, ed., *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779)*, 2 volumes, London, 1935, I, 31-33.

⁶⁶ The royal order sending him to Acadia is dated March 31, 1687, AC, B 13:81.

⁶⁷ Louis XIV to Denonville and Champigny, March 8, 1688, AC, B 15:23v.

⁶⁸ See Gargas' "Account of my conduct during my stay in Acadia," in *Acadiensia Nova*, I, 167-199.

⁶⁹ His name is written as in the text in his instructions, April 10, 1688, AC, B 15:45-47; "Goutin" in his commission, *ibid.*, 49. In a document published by Webster, *Acadia*, 174, the following variants are found: "Desgoutins, Des Goutins, De Goutin, De Goutins, Degoutins." He, too, conferred nobility upon himself, cf. E. Lauvrière, *La tragédie d'un peuple. Histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines à nos jours*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1924², 128, "ce vil commis de la marine, Mathieu Goutins par lui-même anobli en Mathieu des Goutins." The clerk of the Sovereign Council wrote Mathieu de Goutin, and Degoutins, *Jugements et délibérations*, III, 273, 562.

⁷⁰ Seignelay to Meneval, April 10, 1688, AC, B 15:40-40v; the order of recall of these two men is on folio 42.

him the following year: "I am compelled to say that they are much worse than those who were recalled last year [*i. e.*, Miramont and Gargas]. I have gained nothing by the change." Actually, his grounds for complaints against the previous pair were trifles in comparison with the delinquencies of the newcomers. The worse of the two was Soulègre who incited the other to mischief:

On arriving here these two men . . . were prejudiced and spoiled by the two officers who were recalled last year. Before leaving Port Royal, having resolved to take revenge on me because of their recall, these two officers gave to Soulègre and Desgoutins some very malicious memoranda and instructions. But these two have been still more spoiled by one Cadillac whom they found here.

This Cadillac, the most malicious man in the world, is a rattle-headed fellow, driven out of France for I know not what crimes.⁷¹ He turned up here, and being a relative of the Sieur de Gargas and a friend of the Sieur de Miramont, he banded himself with them against me. After these two had gone away from here, he took in hand the Sieurs de Soulègre and Desgoutins, who, because they were not clever enough to realize that he wanted to create trouble, or because they wanted to add their own discontent to his, formed a cabal to cross me in every possible way. In one of their secret meetings they said, "We must drive the governor and the priests insane [*faire enrager*]." They did not dare to deny this when told that they had said it. Since then they have done all they could in that direction, although neither the priests nor I have given any just cause for it.⁷²

By way of carrying out their threat against the governor and the priests, namely, the two missionaries stationed at Port Royal, they first tried to set the priests in opposition to the governor. When this maneuver failed, they directed their batteries against all alike. In an attempt to arouse disaffection among the people, they declared that the tithes should not be paid because the missionaries were carrying on trade, "which is very false," notes the governor. The only crime of the missionaries, he says

⁷¹ The original text reads: "Ce Cadillac, le plus méchant esprit du monde est un estourdi chassé de France *pour* je ne say *quels* crimes." The transcript in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, has: "Ce Cadillac, le plus méchant esprit du monde chassé de France *par* je ne say *quels* événements," which is quite different and inexcusable. Rameau has something else again: "Ce Cadillac, le plus méchant esprit du monde, est un étourdi chassé de France *pour* je ne sais *quel* crime"; *Une Colonie féodale*, II, 326. The text of the Acadian correspondence in this book is unreliable.

⁷² *Memoire instructif de la conduite des Sieurs de Soulègre et des Goutin au Port Royal de l'Acadie par le Sieur de Meneval Gouverneur, AC, C 11D, 2:126-133v.* It is signed and the date is at the end: "De Meneval Au Port Royal, Le 1^{er} Septembre 1689."

further, consists in refusing to be won over to the side of the malcontents and to help them "in crossing and persecuting me." By way of attacking the governor directly, they openly showed contempt for his authority among the soldiers, the settlers, and the Indians. Soulègre and Desgoutins formed a trade partnership, "and although I told them that officers were forbidden to trade," they went ahead just the same. They made ambitious plans for the future and decided to use as a front the *Sieur de Cadillac*, who not being an officer was not affected by the governor's prohibition.

The close relationship which already existed between Cadillac and the two troublemakers was strengthened in the following way. Desgoutins had taken a special dislike to Dubreuil, the king's attorney at Port Royal, because the attorney and Meneval, as the latter says, were on very good terms. In order to thwart Dubreuil as much as possible, continues Meneval,

He took it into his head to make the *Sieur Cadillac* notary and court clerk [greffier] against my advice and in spite of my prohibition. Both because I told him that Cadillac was a cheat and a malicious character, quite capable of entangling the poor people here in endless chicaneries and lawsuits for his own personal gain, and because I told him that I would not tolerate this appointment, he has sent Cadillac to Quebec under another pretext, in order to obtain, they tell me, letters from M. Denonville and from the intendant empowering him to exercise the functions of notary and court clerk in spite of me. I would hardly have believed that he would carry his insolence so far, although I did see some indications that he would do so. Since the departure of their courier [Cadillac], both Desgoutins and Soulègre have been boasting that they did in fact send their complaints, and are manifestly very impatient for his return. If this be true, it is the *Sieur Soulègre* who engineered it all, for Desgoutins does nothing without his advice.

This memorial originally intended for Seignelay, was in fact sent by Meneval to Chevre, in view of subsequent developments which Meneval refers to in his covering letter. On September 6, 1689, Bishop Saint-Vallier, then making the visitation of his immense diocese, arrived at Port Royal. Quite out of patience with the behavior of Messrs. Soulègre and Desgoutins, Meneval gave orders that they should return with the bishop to Quebec and give an account of their antics to Denonville and Champigny. The governor was convinced that they would be shipped back to France, for he himself had already sent a report about them to Quebec. "This prospect frightened them greatly." Through the

intervention of the bishop, the culprits were brought to ask for pardon and Meneval was moved to relent. What had determined him to send them away was probably some further confirmation of the fact already mentioned, that they had actually sent their complaints to Quebec by courier, to wit, by Cadillac. At all events, in consequence of the bishop's good offices, Meneval finally sent the "mémoire instructif" to Chevre, telling him not to show it to Seignelay unless the latter received further complaints from the troublemakers.⁷³

In a notarial act dated June 6, 1689, which I have not seen, but which is said to be among the Genaple papers, the name of Lamothe is mentioned. Whether this is Cadillac himself we do not know. From the records of the Sovereign Council we learn that he was at Quebec early in July, appealing to this court from a sentence of the prévôté with regard to his wife's inheritance.⁷⁴ But there is no evidence that he ever presented to Denonville and Champigny the complaints of Messrs. Soulègre and Desgoutins. Even if he did, the fact would hardly be noted in the correspondence of the governor and of the intendant for that year, because the terrible Lachine massacre took place less than three weeks after the date when we know that Cadillac was still in Quebec; and this disaster would naturally overshadow in importance the recriminations of a few cranks in Acadia. At all events, the courier may well have felt embarrassed on his return to Port Royal sometime in September, at finding his two cronies reconciled with Meneval. His embarrassment, if any, was soon dispelled by what happened next.

On September 12, 1689, Frontenac arrived at Chedabucto Bay on the *Embuscade*.⁷⁵ Louis XIV had sent him back to Canada at this time for the same reason that he had sent Denonville thither in 1685: to restore the prestige of the French. This aim Denonville had certainly not accomplished. The campaign of 1687, called by Parkman "but half a success,"⁷⁶ was even less than that; for in September of the same year before Denonville got back to Quebec after his expedition, the Iroquois braves were already attacking the French.⁷⁷ The governor's failure to crush the Iroquois, and the two subsequent diplomatic defeats which naturally emboldened the Iroquois still more, were the causes of

⁷³ Meneval to Chevre, September 8, 1689, AC, C 11D, 2:115-118.

⁷⁴ *Jugements et délibérations*, III, 341.

⁷⁵ Frontenac to Seignelay, November 15, 1689, RAPQ, 1928, 17.

⁷⁶ Parkman, *Frontenac*, 155.

⁷⁷ Belmont, *Histoire du Canada*, 26-27.

his recall. There could be but little doubt about the choice of a man to succeed him. Frontenac had many friends at Court, and he himself was pining to return to Canada,⁷⁸ if only to show his "enemies" that his first term of office there had been vindicated.

As soon as he reached Chedabucto, Frontenac left the *Embuscade* and proceeded to Quebec on the *Saint-François Xavier*.⁷⁹ His parting orders to M. de la Cassinière, the commander of the *Embuscade* and of the *Fourgon*,⁸⁰ were to go to fortify Port Royal. The engineer who was to draw the plans for this fortification was Saccardy. Work on the fort was begun soon after October 5, 1689, the date of the *Embuscade's* arrival at Port Royal, and among the supervisors was "a nobleman of this country," that is, Cadillac.⁸¹ While the fort was being built, Saccardy received a new order from Frontenac,⁸² November 1, telling him to sail on the *Embuscade*⁸³ and to reconnoiter the New England coast.⁸⁴ Cadillac was prevailed upon by both Meneval and La Cassinière to go along with Saccardy on this voyage. As we have seen, he really knew the New England coast line well, and Meneval would not have been sorry to relieve Port Royal of at least one troublemaker.

The reason for Frontenac's order to reconnoiter the New England coast was that the Court of France at this time was seriously considering the conquest of New York and of New England. This plan had long been cherished by French officials in Canada. Talon,⁸⁵ and Dubois d'Avaugour before him,⁸⁶ had seen that the French would never break the power of the Iroquois without first humbling the Dutch and the English. Denonville also had considered this to be the only way of ridding New

⁷⁸ "M. de Frontenac wishes very much to return to Canada. His friends work in his behalf"; Tronson to Dollier, March 1, 1684, no. 224, copy in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa. "M. de Frontenac is doing his utmost to return to Quebec"; Dudouyt to Laval, March 28- May 14, Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), Carton N, no. 79. "At last M. le Marquis [sic] de Frontenac by his perseverance and the good offices of his friends, has obtained leave to return to Canada"; Tronson to Dollier, May 1, 1689, no. 406.

⁷⁹ Frontenac to Seignelay, November 15, 1689, RAPQ, 1928, 18.

⁸⁰ Louis XIV to La Cassinière, June 7, 1789, AC, B 15:107-107v.

⁸¹ Saccardy to Seignelay, January 3, 1690, AC, C 11D, 2:136v. "I employed Monsieur de la Motte, inspector, Monsieur de Gouttin, comptroller of wood and supplies, and two sergeants to superintend the work"; *id.* to [Chevry?], January 12, 1690, *Acadiensia Nova*, I, 218.

⁸² See the wording of Saccardy's commission, June 1, 1689, AC, B 15: 83-83v.

⁸³ Saccardy to Seignelay, January 3, 1690, AC, C 11D, 2:137v.

⁸⁴ Royal instructions to Frontenac, June 7, 1689, RAPQ, 1928, 12.

⁸⁵ Talon to Colbert, November 13, 1666, RAPQ, 1931, 61.

⁸⁶ Memoir of August 3, 1663, NYCD, IX, 15.

France of the Iroquois menace, and as recently as 1688, he had sent Callières to France to explain the situation to Seignelay.⁸⁷ The minister replied that "although His Majesty thought well of the proposal, he did not deem it expedient for the present."⁸⁸ Less than a month later, however, Frontenac was given instructions to proceed with the plan:

Previous to leaving His Majesty's ships, [Frontenac] will give orders to the Sieur de la Cassinière to await news from him, prescribing what to do in the meantime and designating the place where he will receive further instructions. He will direct La Cassinière to capture all the ships belonging to the English and other enemies he falls in with during his sojourn on that coast.⁸⁹

De la Cassinière's reconnoitering expedition left Port Royal on November 8, 1689, but storms and contrary winds drove the ship so far eastward that the first coast line they were in a position to study closely was that of the Azores.⁹⁰ This unexpected excursion was decidedly not to the taste of Cadillac. The battered *Embuscade* made her way from the Azores to France, and six days after the ship had anchored at Rochefort Cadillac made known his sorry plight to Seignelay in a signed letter.

Since this is the first extant specimen of his long series of letters to the French government in the course of the next quarter of a century, and also because it is such a typical example of these letters, we give it here in full. To the best of our knowledge it has never before been published.

I dare take the liberty of presenting my most humble respects, and I feel compelled to inform you of my voyage. Messrs. de la Cassinière and de Meneval proposed that I embark upon the frigate *Embuscade* for a month's voyage, without telling me, however, in what capacity. They only told me that it concerned the service of the king, and that I would thereby be doing something agreeable to your Highness. My natural inclination for the service of the king, and the hope of deserving your Highness' protection, made me accept their proposal without hesitation. After we had sailed westward for a time, the winds became so contrary and so violent that it was impossible to land, and we were forced to put into port in Europe. They [La Cassinière and Meneval] had promised to bring me back to Port Royal, telling me not to worry. Since I was to incur no expense during this voyage, I con-

⁸⁷ Callières' memoir of January 1689, *ibid.*, 401-408.

⁸⁸ Seignelay to Denonville, May 1, 1689, NYCD, IX, 417.

⁸⁹ Royal instructions to Frontenac, June 7, 1689, RAPQ, 1928, 12.

⁹⁰ Saccardy to Seignelay, January 3, 1690, AC, C 11D, 2:140; *id.* to [Chevry?], January 12, 1690, in *Acadiensia Nova*, I, 221.

sequently made no provision for it, and now find myself here [at Rochefort] without money, subsisting solely on a certain amount of credit, which will not last long.

I humbly beg your Highness, my Lord, kindly to consider that when I undertook this voyage, the object of which was unknown to me, I left my wife, my family, and my business, without having provided for them, in the hope that I would be brought back to Port Royal within a month. All this will surely result in a serious loss, and unless your Highness does me the favor of helping me, I cannot meet the expenses which I am obliged to incur.

I had been commissioned by the Sieur de Frontenac to lead the Indians of Acadia against the English,⁹¹ whom I would certainly have harassed, and I believe that but for this voyage I would have gone almost as far as Boston. I devoted my entire attention to the fortifications which are now being built at Port Royal. The Sieur de Saccardy can testify to this. Your Highness, my Lord, has not yet filled the post of major of Acadia. If your Highness would do me the favor of inquiring about my conduct,⁹² and if your Highness would find me worthy of this post or of any other employment, I would more than double my good wishes for your prosperity and for the success of your undertakings.

With regard to knowledge of the country, from Acadia, through New England and New Netherland, down to Carolina, I could, my Lord, give you reliable information, for I know it better than anybody else,⁹³ having made several voyages by sea and land. I even went 250 leagues inland.⁹⁴ I saw the most important places; I examined their forts and their guns; I know approximately the number of inhabitants, and their differences of religion. Besides this, my Lord, I can speak English, Spanish and Indian [Sauvage].⁹⁵ I beg your Highness to consider that I am the first nobleman⁹⁶ to settle in that country [Acadia], where I have spent much money for its improvement.

⁹¹ There is no record of such a commission; one does not see where Frontenac could have met Cadillac at this date or where he could have heard of him.

⁹² Cadillac had evidently no idea of what Meneval had said of him.

⁹³ Taking exception to Margry's statement, V, lxxv, that Cadillac had a good knowledge of the New England coast, Father Le Jeune remarked: "In two years at the most he can only have reconnoitered his seigniory"; *Dictionnaire Général . . . du Canada*, 2 volumes, Ottawa, 1931, s. v. Cadillac. This remark was made because Father Le Jeune thought that Cadillac had served in the campaigns of 1684 and 1687, whereas he had spent his time since his arrival in America studying the coast, and, as will be seen, knew it very well.

⁹⁴ One wonders from what point on the coast Cadillac began this 700-mile journey in the interior, and what direction he followed.

⁹⁵ This knowledge of an Indian language was either nonexistent or so rudimentary that Cadillac was hardly justified in asserting that he "spoke" it. During the next twenty years, he always needed two interpreters, one for Algonquian and one for Huron, the two basic languages spoken by the Indians with whom he came in contact in the Northern United States.

⁹⁶ He means, of course, his self-granted patent of nobility.

I proposed to M. de la Cassinière and to the Sieur de Saccardy means by which your Highness could make a strong garrison subsist at Port Royal without costing his Majesty a penny. I have no doubt whatever that they spoke to you about it. I thought I should mention this plan to them, being persuaded that they would be better listened to than I would.

I beg you to allow me, my Lord, to implore your protection, while assuring your Highness that I am with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant

A. De Lamothe Cadillac.⁹⁷

From Rochefort, December 29, 1689.

In a memorial written in 1690 after his return to France, Denonville had recommended Cadillac as one whose knowledge of the Atlantic coast would be useful should New York be attacked.⁹⁸ The stranded coastal expert's continued requests for help and compensations for his losses met with little success, for the "mémoire instructif" of Meneval had by this time reached the hands of Seignelay. If the minister did not read the whole memorial he certainly must have read the synopsis of it, with marginal notations, specially prepared for him. The first marginal note concerns Desgoutins, who had been recommended by M. de Chevry because he had been secretary to the latter's father; but now both the Chevrys were "very sorry for having recommended him."⁹⁹ Seignelay gave the king an account of Meneval's complaints about Desgoutins, with the result that an order was sent to Port Royal to ship the said Desgoutins to France.¹⁰⁰ In such circumstances it is not surprising that Cadillac would be making little headway with his petitions for help, in spite of his qualifications, real and alleged. This wretch, continues the author of the marginal note, speaking of Desgoutins, "began by marrying a peasant girl, and carried on an illicit trade in the woods through his father-in-law and his brothers-in-law;

⁹⁷ BN, Clairambault, 882:143-144. With regard to the spelling of his borrowed name, Antoine Laumet was much more consistent than many an officer or *habitant* of New France. From the day of his marriage in 1687 when he signed the Cathedral register, until thirty years later when he signed the register of the Bastille, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Bastille, 12479: 72, *Registre d'écrou*, with very few exceptions, he always wrote his name "Lamothe" in one word as here. Cf. the note in the *Report on Canadian Archives for 1888*, Ottawa, 1888, cclxxv.

⁹⁸ Memorial of Denonville, January 1690, NYCD, IX, 446; cf. AC, C 11A, 10:342.

⁹⁹ AC, C 11D, 2:119.

¹⁰⁰ Seignelay to Meneval, July 14, 1690, AC, B 15:132.

he also fomented lawsuits among the settlers, against the orders of M. de Meneval himself."¹⁰¹

The next item of this synopsis of Meneval's memorial concerns Cadillac: "The said Sieur de Meneval writes that the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, *habitant* of Port Royal, incited the Sieur Desgoutins still further, and became a member of his cabal." The author of the marginal notes to this synopsis, whoever he may have been, was more favorable to Cadillac than to Desgoutins, as will be seen from his comments on this passage here quoted in full.

This Cadillac is now in the train of my Lord. He found himself in France owing to the unexpected landing in France of M. de la Casinière's ship, upon which he had embarked because he is practically the only one who knows the coast and coastal towns of New York and New England. He had been considered indispensably necessary for the projected expedition when the ship left Port Royal. He was ordered to embark, and is now begging my Lord to give him some employment and to reimburse him for the expenses which he incurred on the occasion of this voyage and [the losses resulting] from leaving his *habitation* and his family.

He is known to be very wide awake, and is quite capable of the practices mentioned by M. de Meneval. He is an adventurer who has roamed all over America. He seems to have traveled with a purpose and to have acquired a fairly accurate knowledge of the country.

He claims to be a nobleman and to have been an infantry captain. He is clever. He settled down a short time ago in Acadia, where he married a peasant girl who has borne him some children.¹⁰² [As a

¹⁰¹ AC, C 11D, 2:119; cf. Rameau de Saint-Père, II, 329.

¹⁰² Cadillac in his letter of December 29, 1689, makes mention of his wife and of "his family"; and Frontenac refers to Cadillac's children in October 1691. The children spoken of by the governor at this date were very likely Judith and Marie-Madeleine, both born at Port Royal, and not in Maine as Burton asserted, *In the Footsteps of Cadillac*, and MHS, XXXIV, 250, note 1. The first was born in 1688, MHS, XXXIV, 250-251; the second in 1690 or 1691, as can be seen in an extract from one of Cadillac's letters dated Fort Pontchartrain [Detroit], July 21, 1709: "Il a une fille âgée de 18 ans." According to Cadillac, François Clairambault d'Aigremont had given him to understand that he was seriously thinking of marrying her, but finding "certains deffaultz" in the suitor, her father called off the match, and wrote to Pontchartrain that he would like to go to France in order to "marier sa fille dans sa province"; AC, C 11A, 30:411-412. When he went to France in 1712, he probably did not find a suitable husband for her, for she was still single when she came to Louisiana in 1713. At Mobile, Cadillac thought that he had found in Bienville the ideal husband for his daughter; but Bienville turned down the offer, thereby irremediably offending her father; cf. Bienville to [Pontchartrain], January 20, 1716, AC, C 13A, 4:779, printed in D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders, eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion*, Jackson, Mississippi, 1932, 199. In 1723, Marie-Madeleine de Lamothe Cadillac was a professed nun in the Saint-Sernin monastery at Toulouse; Forestié, *Lamothe-Cadillac*, 19.

dowry] she brought him a wretched *habitation* from which he hoped to work out a subsistence by his industry.

I think it would be kind and just if my Lord were to grant him some compensation on account of his voyage. He has been living on loans since his arrival in France six months ago. He has reached the end of his resources and is in extreme want.

It is also my duty to call attention to the fact that if some expedition against New York and New England be undertaken, it will be necessary for him to take part in it, because of his knowledge of the coast and especially of the coast towns.

If he were warned that he will be punished if he relapses into the same faults [as those mentioned in the memorial of Meneval], there is reason to hope that he may become a good settler who could fight to defend Port Royal in case of attack.

Hence, if my Lord should judge fit, he might be allowed to return to his family and might be given some indemnity as a compensation for his voyage.¹⁰³

It would appear from certain details in this note that Cadillac himself had spoken to the annotator about his troubles, adding a few bits of embroidery. Thus, the extent of his travels, his being a nobleman, his having been an infantry captain, are unmistakable Cadillac touches. But the way in which the annotator refers to the nobility and the captaincy indicates that he was not too sure about these items. In passing we may note that if there had not been something peculiar in Cadillac's past, he would almost certainly have gone to Les Laumets and tried to get help from his family instead of dogging the footsteps of Seignelay for six months. One cannot help wondering, also, what Marie-Thérèse Guyon would have thought had she known of Cadillac's remarks about her and about her dowry. If he had really been a nobleman, his marriage to "une paysanne" would have been a *mésalliance*, a most disgraceful deed in the eyes of "his peers."

Internal evidence enables us to date the above marginal note as of June 1690. In July Cadillac again wrote to Seignelay, begging for an indemnity and an opportunity to return to his family. This time the marginal comment is brief and terse: "He is in the train of my Lord, lives on loans and is in extreme want."¹⁰⁴ Whether Seignelay granted Cadillac the subsidy for which he had been asking during the past six months is not known; but he must at least have given the stranded nobleman permission to return to America. With Desgoutins out of the

¹⁰³ AC, C 11D, 2:119-119v.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 122.

way, the chances that Cadillac would do much harm in Acadia were greatly lessened. When next we hear of him, however, he is not at Port Royal, but engaged in a lawsuit at Quebec.

The reason why he happened to be at Quebec toward the end of 1690 is as follows. In May 1690, while Cadillac was still in the train of Seignelay, Phips appeared before Port Royal.¹⁰⁵ As is well known, the Englishman agreed on capitulation terms which he regretted as soon as he saw the dilapidated state of the "fortifications" and the ridiculously small garrison of the town. He vented his anger on the governor, Meneval, and on the people, "pillaging or allowing the pillage of most of the inhabitants, taking away their clothes and their cattle under the pretext, Phips was saying, that they had hidden their more valuable possessions in the woods. In brief, one can say that, except for the fact of not shooting anybody, the English disregarded the terms of the capitulation and acted as if the town had been taken by storm."¹⁰⁶ In his letter to Paris, Meneval simply said that when Phips realized that Port Royal could not have resisted, "he pillaged and ransacked the inhabitants."¹⁰⁷

In his Relation of the capture of Port Royal, Desgoutins enters into greater details regarding the damage done during the two weeks of English occupation, and tells how Phips, before leaving, forced the inhabitants to swear loyalty to the King of England. After he had gone, some English freebooters having learned that the inhabitants had repudiated the oath and torn down the English flag, came to Port Royal, "burned twenty-eight or thirty houses, killed one of the early settlers, burned [?] his wife and five or six children, and then departed."¹⁰⁸ An anonymous memorial, dated February 5, 1691, gives specific details about the location of those houses:

The English burned the houses on the sea shore,¹⁰⁹ numbering twelve in all, and fifteen or sixteen others not far away at the place called Le Cap [a section of the upper town of Annapolis Royal]. They

¹⁰⁵ Cf. "Prise du Port Royal par les Anglois de Boston," in *Collection de manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, II, 6-8; another account in NYCD, IX, 474-475; Phips' journal in A. G. Doughty, *Report of the work of the Archives branch for the year 1912*, Ottawa, 1913, Appendix E, 54-66. Ferrot's version, *Collection de manuscrits*, II, 6-8, who was not there, and who was anything but a model of courage, can be discarded.

¹⁰⁶ *Collection de manuscrits . . .*, II, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Meneval to Seignelay, *ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁸ "Relation de la prise du Port royal par les habitants de Baston et de Selan [Salem] Commandez par Vuillam Philipps Le 21 May 1690," *Report of the work of the Archives branch for the year 1912*, Appendix F, 67-73.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Gargas' description of Port Royal in 1687-1688, *Acadiensia Nova*, I, 179-181.

did not touch any of the others in the neighborhood of the same place, nor the better and more substantial houses located up the Port Royal River. They did not burn the flour mill nor the saw mill, but the church and [in all] twenty-seven or twenty-eight of the less substantial houses.

Port Royal is still in existence and can easily be maintained; strictly speaking, only the Company of Acadia suffered a considerable loss.¹¹⁰

As we have seen, according to the official annotator of the synopsis, in 1690 Cadillac had nothing at Port Royal but a wretched habitation; and from the above quotation it appears that if his house was one of those destroyed by the English it could hardly have been very substantial. The interesting thing about his losses is the way they increase with the passing years. In 1712, for instance, while waiting in Paris to sail for Louisiana, he wrote to Pontchartrain that the land grant in the south for which he is then asking will compensate to a certain extent for the loss of his Maine concession, and for the loss "of another concession at Port Royal [situated] near the fort, and which I held in fief."¹¹¹ So often does this "fief" recur that an effort is required to remember how imaginary it is. Again, in 1718, in a memorial addressed to the king, he hopes that his losses in Acadia will be taken into consideration in the financial settlement. These losses include his Maine seigneurie, and "a fief at Port Royal which he abandoned in order to serve his Majesty; by the capture of that province [Acadia] at the hands of the English in the year 1690, M. de Lamothe was plundered without being left the value of thirty cents."¹¹² The "fief at Port Royal which I had bought for ready money," again appears in a memorial presented to the Navy Council in 1719,¹¹³ and once more three years later in the final settlement of his American affairs. In the general review which precedes the decision of this case, he asks the king to grant him a fitting compensation for the double loss sustained in Acadia, the Mt. Desert seigneurie and "the fief of Port Royal which he was forced to abandon by the conquest of this province in the year 1690, when the petitioner was robbed of all he had, nothing at all being left him."¹¹⁴

Whatever may have been his losses at Port Royal, the Eng-

¹¹⁰ *Mémoire sur l'état présent de l'Acadie . . .*, AC, C 11D, 2:168.

¹¹¹ Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 5, 1712, AC, C 13A, 2:684.

¹¹² MHS, XXXIII, 601.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 619.

¹¹⁴ Arrest en faveur du Sr de la Mothe Cadillac, AC, B 45:874.

lish could not possibly have done any damage, either in 1690 or in 1710, to Mt. Desert Island or to Cadillac's concession on the mainland, simply because there was nothing to damage.¹¹⁵ As a matter of fact, he never thought of asking for compensation until long afterwards, basing his claim on the fact that he had been granted the Maine concession in 1688. Since he never settled there, and never did anything at all to develop his grant, according to the land law the concession had reverted to the Crown even before 1712, the date of his first petition. It is true, he asked for compensation for the loss incurred at Port Royal immediately after that event, but there is no mention of any "fief" at that time, when the matter could have been easily investigated.

Though there is positive evidence of his being in Quebec at the beginning of December 1690,¹¹⁶ we do not know precisely when he arrived there. Since he was still in France in July, he should have arrived upon the scene of desolation at Port Royal sometime in September, and then gone on to Quebec. From here, he wrote to the Court, or more likely from Port Royal, for the letter of Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny in which Phips' attack is mentioned was written in the beginning of April 1691. The Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, wrote the king,

a nobleman of Acadia, ordered to embark on the *Embuscade* for the king's service, landed in France. Having been informed that during his absence his *habitation* was ruined, his Majesty will be pleased if the Sieur de Frontenac give him such employment in the king's service as he is fit for, and if he help him in every possible way.¹¹⁷

We know that Cadillac was in Quebec in January 1691,¹¹⁸ and since he was still there in March and in April,¹¹⁹ he was very probably there during the entire winter. His time in Quebec was not wasted, for he succeeded in ingratiating himself with Frontenac. The governor, a good judge of men, realized that he and this talkative, boastful, resourceful Gascon would get along well together. Until now Frontenac's associations with adventurers had been rather disappointing,¹²⁰ but in Cadillac, Frontenac

¹¹⁵ See his description of Mt. Desert Island in Cadillac's memoir of 1692, *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, VI, 1859, 280.

¹¹⁶ *Jugements et délibérations*, III, 465.

¹¹⁷ Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, April 7, 1691, RAPQ, 1928, 54.

¹¹⁸ *Jugements et délibérations*, III, 468.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 501, 513.

¹²⁰ With regard to Duluth, cf. Duchesneau to Colbert, November 10, 1679, NYCD, IX, 135; *id.* to Seignelay, November 13, 1680, *ibid.*, 141; with

knew from the very beginning that he had found a man after his own heart.

The reader has already observed more than one indication of Cadillac's typically Gascon qualities. We may remark at this point, how perfectly applicable to him is Rostand's famous description, in *Cyrano*, of "the Gascony cadets." There is room for doubt only with regard to the first word, "bretteurs," for his contemporaries do not speak highly of his courage.¹²¹ The rest of the first stanza, however, might have been written for him personally. "Menteurs sans vergogne." This is the theme of many letters written about him from Canada,¹²² and even the younger Pontchartrain, who consistently rallied to the defense of Cadillac, refers to this characteristic in one of his letters to Raudot and in a marginal note which he added to one of the Gascon's letters. The line "Parlant blason, lambel, bastogne," almost makes one wonder whether Rostand knew the facts about Cadillac's coat of arms; and his next verse, "Tous plus nobles que des filous," could stand as an apt comment on Cadillac's marriage declaration.

Again, your true Gascony cadet quarreled with everybody in New France: with the governors and the intendants, with his brother officers and his trade associates, with the bishop, the diocesan clergy, and the Jesuits, but he never had any quarrel with Frontenac. Gascon-like, he even gloried in his own pugnaciousness. While sailing to Louisiana to take up his duties there as governor, he impressed on the *commissaire ordonnateur* what manner of man he was. In a letter written after their arrival in the colony, Duclos describes his experiences with Cadillac during the crossing:

I noticed that he wanted me to realize how dangerous it would be for me to quarrel with him, because, he assured me, he had a superior mind; so superior, in fact, that my Lord the Count de Pontchartrain had agreed with him about its superiority. "I have had as opponents," he often told me, "the intendant, the governor-general of Canada, the

regard to La Salle, Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, the whole of Chapter VIII, 200-218.

¹²¹ Cf. Vaudreuil and Raudot to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 447; translated in MHS, XXXIII, 404-405.

¹²² "The Sieur de Lamothe is so much in the habit of stating what is untrue that it is almost impossible for him to write otherwise"; Vaudreuil's annotation to Cadillac's letter of August 27, 1706, MHS, XXXIII, 282. He was, says La Potherie, "d'un pais où l'on ne manque pas de trouver sur le des repostes faites à plaisir"; *Voyage de l'Amerique . . .*, 4 volumes, Amsterdam, 1723, IV, 27. "Ce gascon prenait avec la vérité de fortes licences"; T. Chapais, *Jean Talon, Intendant de la Nouvelle-France, 1665-1672*, Quebec, 1907, 177.

bishop, the priests, the *curés*, the Jesuits, in short everybody. I quarreled with M. de Champigny, M. de Beauharnois, and even with M. Raudot. Yet I always succeeded in everything I undertook, in spite of them, in spite of everybody, and this solely because of the strength of my own genius."¹²³

As we have seen, Cadillac had found favor with Frontenac from the very beginning. Even before he received the king's letter ordering him to help Cadillac, the governor had already assisted him to bring his family from Port Royal and to establish residence in Quebec. At the end of July he went with Frontenac on an expedition, and owing to his absence on what the minutes of the court call a "voyage de guerre"; the Sovereign Council suspended sentence in a lawsuit in which he was involved.¹²⁴ Upon returning from this "voyage de guerre," Frontenac wrote to Seignelay:

I put the Sieur de Louvigny in charge of the company of St. Cirque who was killed at the affair of La Prairie, and owing to other vacancies, I was able to find a position for the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac. In addition to his previous losses, he had the misfortune, three months ago, of losing all that he had left, while bringing back his wife and children to Quebec. Their vessel was captured at the mouth of our [St. Lawrence] River by a corsair from Boston.¹²⁵

The "position" referred to was a lieutenancy in the colonial troops.¹²⁶ Cadillac's fortunes had indeed taken a turn for the better during the previous year, from July 1690, the date of his last plea to Seignelay, to July 1691. The bleak prospects confronting him on his arrival at Port Royal in September 1690 began to brighten considerably when he arrived at Quebec. In spite of the

¹²³ Duclos to —, October 1713, AC, C 13A, 3:151. Duclos added in the margin: "All these speeches and others which you will see may appear overdone or embellished; but I have the honor of assuring you most sincerely that these are the very words of M. de Lamothe, which I quote just as he spoke them without changing or adding anything, either because I heard them myself as those were repeated, or because I heard them from trustworthy people."

¹²⁴ *Jugements et délibérations*, III, 551.

¹²⁵ Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1691, AC, C 11A, 11:233. This letter is printed in RAPQ, 1928, 23-29 and 68-74, the first part as a postscript to a letter of November 17, 1889. Here is what Farmer wrote into the above quotation: "When he went to France, he left his wife in Acadia, whither he returned after seven months. Soon after we find him in command of a vessel. A letter from Count Frontenac to the colonial minister, dated October 20, 1691, states that La Mothe's vessel had been captured by a Boston 'corsair.'" *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, 329-330. It is superfluous to point out that Cadillac was never "in command of a vessel," and that the letter of Frontenac says nothing of his being "in command of this vessel."

¹²⁶ AC, C 11A, 11:222.

temporary setback received at the hands of the "corsair from Boston" early in the summer of 1691, in the July of that year we find our Gascon accepted as traveling companion by the governor-general of New France and shortly afterwards recommended for a lieutenancy.

The conferring of these favors was not entirely gratuitous. As we saw from Cadillac's letter to Seignelay, he had laid stress upon his knowledge of the Atlantic seaboard and the English settlements along the coast; and it was partly because of this knowledge, acquired under the man whose niece he married later, that he had been asked to embark on the *Embuscade*. Such knowledge was most opportune at the moment, for the conquest of New England and especially of New York was still being seriously contemplated by the French. Frontenac, as we saw, had actually been given permission to proceed with the plan, and as a preliminary, had sent La Cassinière on a reconnoitering journey along the coast. But when Frontenac arrived at Quebec, the season was too far advanced for him to put the plans into execution;¹²⁷ moreover, no preparation had been made in Canada.¹²⁸

In 1690, shortly after his return to France, Denonville had submitted a new plan according to which Albany and New York were to be attacked simultaneously, the first by land and the second by sea.¹²⁹ But troops were needed for this purpose, and, as the king himself wrote at the time, "the affairs of the moment [the War of the League of Augsburg] to which his Majesty must attend at present do not admit of his sending any additional reinforcements to Canada, nor of giving thought to the expedition against New York which was planned a year ago."¹³⁰ Even before he left Paris, Frontenac had his doubts about the success of an overland expedition against the English colonies, and after his arrival at Quebec, having studied the matter on the spot, he was convinced that Boston and New York should both be battered down from the sea.¹³¹ As a preparation for this, he ordered the *Sieur de Bonaventure* in 1690 to follow the shore from Acadia to Boston and New York, "and get all the information he could about the coast."¹³²

¹²⁷ Observations on the state of affairs in Canada, November 18, 1689, NYCD, IX, 431.

¹²⁸ Summary of Intelligence from Canada, 1689, 1690, *ibid.*, 436.

¹²⁹ Memorial of Denonville, January 1690, *ibid.*, 445.

¹³⁰ Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, July 14, 1690, RAPQ, 1928, 32.

¹³¹ Frontenac to Seignelay, November 12, 1690, *ibid.*, 43.

¹³² *Id.* to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1691, *ibid.*, 71.

The reason why the thought of using Cadillac's knowledge occurred to officials at Paris rather than to those at Quebec is that Cadillac's own insistence upon this knowledge in 1690 had made an impression at the Ministry of the Colonies. In April 1692, Pontchartrain wrote from the Ministry to Frontenac that the information which he had sent to Paris concerning the coast was inadequate. To supplement it, "his Majesty approves of sending to France by the first ships the Sieur de Cadillac, because, he has learned, he is the best informed man"¹³³ in all that concerns the lie of the coast, the landings, soundings, etc.

Frontenac said in reply that he would order Cadillac to embark on the *Envieux* with Franquelin. The ship was to sail along the coast from Acadia to New York; hence both Cadillac and Franquelin would have occasion to correct the maps drawn by the latter, and on arriving in Paris they would be able to give the minister further information.¹³⁴ Since these maps have already been discussed in another connection,¹³⁵ we need only mention here the various memorials written by Cadillac with regard to the "conquest" of New England and New York. The earliest of these is divided into three parts.¹³⁶ The first part, entitled "Memoire de l'Acadie," deals with the Acadian coast and evinces a more than ordinary knowledge of the shore line. The second section is entitled "Memoire de la Nouvelle Angleterre"; and from this it is clear that his knowledge of the coast from the Kennebec River to New York, though not so detailed¹³⁷ nor so accurate as that contained in the first part, is still remarkable. The third part of the memorial deals with the plan of attack itself. To Cadillac the most important objective was New York. Its subjugation, he believed, would forever remove all danger to the French colony, for the threat from Boston was not nearly so serious. This "delendum est Neo Eboracum" theme is repeated in two other variants of the memorial of 1692: one of which was written the following year,¹³⁸ and the other under date of August 3, 1695, when he was commandant at Michilimackinac.¹³⁹

¹³³ Pontchartrain to Frontenac, April 1692, *ibid.*, 102.

¹³⁴ Frontenac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1692, *ibid.*, 114.

¹³⁵ "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV (January 1943), 45, 68.

¹³⁶ AC, C 11D, 2:193-200.

¹³⁷ Cf. the note at the end of the extract in NYCD, IX, 549.

¹³⁸ *Memoires de l'Acadie et de la nouvelle angleterre*, AC, C 11D, 10: n. p. Extracts from or abridgments of these memoirs will be found in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, VI, 1859, 279-284; in NYCD, IX, 546-549; in BRH, XXXVIII, 1932, 555-564.

¹³⁹ AC, C 11E, 1:266-269v. The memorial was probably sent to Lagny, cf. NYCD, IX, 659; it is entitled: "Projet que le sieur de la Mothe Cadillac

As might have been expected, in one of the letters which he wrote to the Court during his enforced sojourn in France, Cadillac called attention to his tribulations of 1689 and his losses of 1690, and asked as a compensation "to be given the first vacant command of a company."¹⁴⁰ On March 1, 1693, three weeks after the date of this letter, the lieutenantancy given to him by Frontenac in 1691 was ratified by the king;¹⁴¹ and at the end of the month, Louis XIV mentions him in a letter to Frontenac and Champigny:

The Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac has given an account of all that concerns New York and New England. He has supplied us with memoranda which will be used in due time and place, and has also given an account of the condition of the bays, roadsteads, rivers, ports, and harbors of the said region, as well as of Acadia.

The next step was to have maps made of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence and of the river from its mouth to Quebec. The governor and the intendant were urged to employ the Sieur de Lamothe in this work, together with Jolliet, Franquelin, and Levasseur de Néré.

In recognition of the services rendered by the said Cadillac, and in order to indemnify him for the losses incurred while in his service, his Majesty has granted him 1,500 livres, and it is his will that the said Sieur de Frontenac give him, as occasion arises, all the protection he may need, and the vacant command of a company.¹⁴²

Frontenac was only too willing to oblige. In October 1693, he notified the minister that he had given the captaincy of the Sieur de Monic "to the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac in compliance with the order which I received from the king."¹⁴³

In the letter to Frontenac and Champigny which we have just quoted, the king refers to another plan submitted by Cadillac.

a donné le premier et avant que personne ni eut pensé en 1680 [sic] et sur lequel la Cour pourroit avoir fait quelque attention c'est du temps de M^r le marquis de Seignelay." Margry, V, lxiii, note, suggests 1689 as the date of the memorial, but we know that Cadillac arrived at La Rochelle the last days of this year. Cadillac is probably referring to a memorial handed to the annotator of his petition of 1690. Many people in Canada had thought of conquering New York before Cadillac even came to America.

¹⁴⁰ "Extrait des lettres et différentes demandes sur les affaires de Canada," AC, C 11A, 12:329v. We have here another example of Cadillac's brazenness. The lieutenantancy granted by Frontenac had not yet been ratified by the king; in this petition, he calls himself "capitaine réformé," half-pay captain.

¹⁴¹ AC, B 16:193.

¹⁴² Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, [March 28, 1693], RAPQ, 1928, 144.

¹⁴³ Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1693, *ibid.*, 165.

This plan called for war vessels of low draft, adapted to the defense of the narrow defiles of the rivers and lakes on the route taken by English traders and Iroquois Indians. Orders had been given to Rochefort to draw the plans for the units of this inland armada. As soon as these plans reached Canada work should begin on these boats immediately, and the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, who seems to have advertized his expertness as a naval architect and a marine engineer, was to supervise the building and be put in command of the fleet.¹⁴⁴

Cadillac was never short of ideas, and had no scruples about appropriating other people's ideas without acknowledgment, modifying them slightly and palming them off as his own, whenever he saw in them any chance of pecuniary profit for himself. In the present case it was evident enough that the king could not decently pay to an admiral, or even a commodore, the same salary as was paid to a captain of infantry, and hence Cadillac would do himself no harm if he could convince the king of his prowess as an expert in boat-building and in the management of a fleet.

The idea of building boats of this kind had been proposed by Lahontan early in 1691, and he came to Paris in 1692 to discuss the plan in detail.¹⁴⁵ Lahontan himself had borrowed the idea from Captain Duplessis, who declared in a letter of 1690 that "the sole means of arresting the forays of the Iroquois barbarians is to have immediately constructed at Rochefort twelve flat bottomed sloops in the form of small brigantines. These should be sent to Canada in parts and assembled there."¹⁴⁶ These boats were not meant for use on the Great Lakes, but were to be used in defending the approaches to Montreal so as to prevent another 1689 tragedy. At the time of this letter, Frontenac was in favor of the plan; it was even said that Captain Duplessis had merely given expression to the governor's own idea. But by 1693 Frontenac had realized that the general scheme was impracticable, and in their joint answer to Pontchartrain, he and Champigny raised the same objections against the proposed armada of Cadillac as had been raised against Duplessis' proposal. They end with this clear statement of their attitude: "We believe that no

¹⁴⁴ Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, [March 28, 1693], *ibid.*, 143.

¹⁴⁵ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *New Voyages to North-America by the Baron de Lahontan*. Reprinted from the English edition of 1703, 2 volumes, Chicago, 1905, I, 271-274.

¹⁴⁶ Captain Duplessis' plan for the defense of Canada, February 15, 1690, NYCD, IX, 447.

thought should be given to this plan, and that the funds which the king is sending to the colony should be put to a more profitable use."¹⁴⁷

In April 1694, the king confirmed the captaincy conferred by Frontenac in the preceding year,¹⁴⁸ and moreover, made Cadillac a naval ensign.¹⁴⁹ Both commissions arrived during the summer. "You would hardly believe," wrote Frontenac to Pontchartrain, "the good effect produced by the favor shown to the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, captain, in making him a naval ensign."¹⁵⁰ Just what this "good effect" was, Frontenac does not say, and it seems to have escaped the notice of Cadillac himself. In a letter to one of his protectors, probably Lagny, who was a friend of Frontenac, he refers to the favors as follows:

I received a letter from M. Begon with my commission as captain, and another commission as naval ensign.¹⁵¹ This led me to the conclusion that you are not yet dead. Allow me to thank you very humbly for my promotion, and to implore you not to leave me half way, but to consider that I am already a little too old [he was thirty-six] to be an ensign. A naval lieutenantancy would suit me much better, and would not cost the king anything since no pay is attached to this rank.¹⁵²

The rest of this letter contains a vivid and amusing account of incidents which had been the talk of the colony for the past six months: *l'Affaire Mareuil*, the amateur theatricals of the soldiers, the priedieu episode at Montreal, and the interdict of the Recollects there. Since Cadillac merely narrates these events without having taken an active part in them, it is not necessary to give a full analysis of this letter here. After the date line, "Montreal, September 28, 1694," he added a postscript: "I am setting out today for the Ottawa country"; referring to his journey to Michilimackinac to replace Louvigny as commandant there. This date marks the beginning of his public career in present-day United States. During the next twenty-two years he will successively be commandant at Michilimackinac and at Detroit, and governor of Louisiana.

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¹⁴⁷ Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1693, RAPQ, 1928, 170-171. See the Court's objections to Lahontan's plan, *New Voyages*, I, 280.

¹⁴⁸ AC, B 17:64.

¹⁴⁹ AC, D³, 52, April 15, 1694; cf. AC, C 11A, 13:41v.

¹⁵⁰ Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1694, RAPQ, 1928, 191.

¹⁵¹ Not "naval second lieutenant," as translated in MHS, XXXIII, 71.

¹⁵² Cadillac to —, September 28, 1694, AC, C 11A, 191v; printed in RAPQ, 1924, 93; translated in MHS, XXXIII, 71.

José de Anchieta: "Apostle of Brazil"

(Continued from October)

V

Although peace was gradually being established on the Piratininga frontier, assaults upon the coastal settlements by the Tamóios of the region between Bertioga and Cabo Frio continued unabated. The ire of the Tamóios can be explained, for inland they were harassed by the Tupis of the forest, the allies of the Portuguese, especially since the recent Portuguese victory at Piratininga; and along the coast, as Anchieta wrote, they had suffered many injustices at the hands of the Portuguese.⁹⁶ Be this as it may, the restoration of tranquility was now the wish of everyone along the coast, for the constant enemy assaults by land and sea, with destruction of property, deaths, and the carrying off of wives, children, and slaves as captives, some to be eaten, were becoming intolerable. Some residents of São Vicente and Santos even spoke of abandoning the region for a safer land. And the angry Tamóio hordes, well armed by the hostile French at Rio, by making the frontiers unsafe had a paralyzing effect upon the progress of evangelization.

Under these circumstances Nóbrega, now in charge of Jesuit activities in the south while the provincial, Grã, was in the north, decided to visit the hostile Tamóios in their own *aldeias* on an embassy of peace in the hope of bringing them to terms. Nóbrega had been working on the plan for several years. The opportune moment seemed to be at hand; the Tamóios had been notified of the proposed peace and their response was friendly. The plan was as follows: to separate the hostile Tamóios of the coastal region around Iperoig from those at Rio farther north, and later reconcile them with the loyal Tupis of Piratininga and São Vicente; then, the Tamóios of Rio thus isolated, that region could be conquered and colonized; friendship between the Tamóios and the loyal Tupis could then be established, thus forming a strong alliance which could bring to an end the raids of recalcitrant tribesmen. Thus the Portuguese colonization of southern Brazil would be more secure, the barriers to safe communication between north and south would be removed, and

⁹⁶ *Cartas Jesuíticas*, III, 192.

missionary work could be extended. The plan was accepted by the local civil authorities. Thereupon, Nóbrega chose young Anchieta to be his companion and interpreter on the dangerous mission.⁹⁷ Southey, paying tribute to the courageous ambassadors of peace, writes: "A more perilous embassy was never undertaken."⁹⁸ And he adds: "It is more than probable, that this embassy was the salvation of the Portuguese colonies."⁹⁹ The detailed account of the months they spent at Iperoig, which was to come from the pen of Anchieta, constitutes one of the noblest and most heroic pages in the history of colonial Brazil.¹⁰⁰

José Adorno,¹⁰¹ a wealthy Genoese nobleman, one of the first sugar planters of São Vicente, and a great benefactor of the Jesuits, offered to take them in his own boats and serve as intermediary for the Portuguese. All preparations having been made, on April 18, 1563,¹⁰² Nóbrega and Anchieta left São Vicente for Bertioiga, four leagues up the coast, there to await Adorno's vessels, which were still being outfitted. After five days spent in ministering to the settlers and their slaves there, Adorno's vessels arrived to pick them up, and on April 23 they were off for Iperoig. Due to contrary winds a day was spent on the uninhabited Isle of São Sebastião. From there, carried by a favorable wind, they proceeded directly to their destination, the first group of Tamóio *aldeias* some twenty leagues north of Bertioiga, arriving May 5.

The natives, already notified of the peace mission, welcomed the two Jesuits and immediately sent messengers to notify their leaders. The following day some of the Indian chiefs arrived in three canoes. At first they were suspicious, for they had experienced the treachery of Portuguese slavers more than once before, but after the identity of the Jesuit missionaries had been established through an Indian woman who had been in São Vicente and recognized Nóbrega, the natives swarmed onto the Portuguese boats. They had faith in the Jesuits, for "they knew that

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 193-194.

⁹⁸ Southey, I, 300.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 301.

¹⁰⁰ Unless otherwise specified, the following account of the embassy of peace to Iperoig is based on Anchieta's famous letter to the Father General, São Vicente, January 8, 1565, CJ, III, 196-240. This edition of the letter is carefully annotated by A. de Alcantara Machado. An excellent summary, with valuable notes, may be found in Leite, *História*, I, 367-375.

¹⁰¹ Not Francisco Adorno, as stated in Southey and others following earlier secondary accounts. This is ably discussed in Leite, *História*, I, 368, note 2.

¹⁰² On the date of departure, of which there is some doubt concerning the exact day, see *ibid.*, I, 367, note 1.

these men were the men whose lives were innocent, who were the friends of God, and the protectors of the Indians."¹⁰³ Nóbrega and Anchieta, accompanied by eight or nine Portuguese, disembarked, and upon reaching the beach fell to their knees and gave thanks to God for the auspicious beginning of the mission of peace. They then made their way to the two near-by *aldeias*, where Anchieta sought out the people by crying aloud that they should be gladdened by the friendly arrival of the Jesuits, whose only desire was to live among them and bring them knowledge of the true God, that He might bring them abundance of crops, health, and victory over their enemies. Everywhere the two Jesuits were welcomed with demonstrations of the greatest respect, and so, in accordance with their plan, they unloaded their few belongings and remained alone as hostages to negotiate the peace with "this bold and bloody tribe, whose jaws are still smeared with the blood of Portuguese," and who "ignore the pacts and agreements they make with others."¹⁰⁴ In exchange, twelve Tamóio youths from the two *aldeias* boarded one of the boats and were carried as hostages to São Vicente. At the same time five native leaders left on the other Portuguese vessel on a peace mission to Rio, where most of the hostile Tamóios were gathered with their French confederates.

Temporarily the two Jesuits were given shelter in the house of a native leader who exemplified the confidence of the natives in the good faith of the Black Robes, for, having escaped from a Portuguese slave ship, in shackles, he had good reason to be unfriendly. An Indian woman of the household, who had gained her freedom from slavery through the intervention of the Jesuits, prepared their food with the utmost care and consideration, and even took upon herself to notify them of any suspected treachery. Before long the children of the locality, as well as some adults, were receiving instruction in Christian doctrine; and the latter were admonished against the eating of human flesh. Since the stammering and infirm Nóbrega was not well versed in the native tongue, to the young veteran Anchieta fell the task of teaching and preaching, as well as serving as the mouthpiece of his superior in the peace negotiations. The lowly natives bent every effort to please their guests, and as was their custom when they wished to honor white visitors to their homes they offered them their daughters and sisters, so that they would become their

¹⁰³ Southey, I, 300.

¹⁰⁴ CJ, III, 200.

sons- and brothers-in-law. When Anchieta explained to them that it would be an offense against God to comply with their wishes, and that he and his companions did not marry but instead had taken a vow of perpetual chastity, the natives were surprised and astonished, and henceforth looked upon them with even greater awe and respect.

On May 9, their first Sunday at Iperoig, they set up an altar in a near-by clearing in the forest, and Nóbrega said Mass assisted by Anchieta.¹⁰⁵ On May 14 the Indians vacated a cabin at Iperoig and turned it over to the exclusive use of the Jesuits. This was done in fulfillment of the command of its owner, one of the five chiefs who had gone to Rio with Adorno. Henceforth, Mass was celebrated daily in the new residence, usually before daybreak in order not to be disturbed by the Indians, who through curiosity crowded around the altar, looking over the shoulder of Nóbrega as he said Mass, and watching his every action. Since there were other near-by *aldeias* that desired to receive the Jesuits, they lived for a while in one, then in another, preaching to those who cared to listen. Everywhere they were well received. Nevertheless, they were in constant peril, for some of the Tamóio chiefs looked upon the two emissaries as individuals who were exceptions among the Portuguese, and hence placed little faith in the projected peace. In the course of their conversations they learned that at the time of their arrival a fleet of over two hundred large, hollowed-log canoes, each carrying from twenty to over thirty-five warriors fully armed, was in readiness for a surprise assault, to be carried out simultaneously with a land attack from the forest, aimed at the destruction of the Portuguese coastal settlements. The campaign had been forestalled by the arrival of the Jesuit peace mission. This alone meant perhaps the salvation of the southern captaincy.

On May 23 two canoes arrived at Iperoig, one of them carrying Pindobucu, "The Great Palm Leaf," one of the principal leaders of the *aldeia*, and in the other a brother of the owner of the house in which the Jesuits were residing. They had not been notified that Nóbrega and Anchieta were living there, and immediately demanded at sword's point that they leave. Anchieta hastened to explain the reason for his presence and that of his companion there, and when other members of the household ar-

¹⁰⁵ No attempt will be made to point out the many errors of Southey in relating this story. Anyone who wishes may compare his account with Anchieta's own narrative and the recent findings of Leite and Alcantara Machado.

rived the matter was amicably settled. Pindobuçu now showed great interest in the peace plans as explained to him by Anchieta. In fact, within a few days he became the Jesuits' most loyal friend and protector. He spent hours discussing with them not only the proposed peace, but especially matters pertaining to the Christian religion and the religious life of the missionaries. His loyalty was to be a determining factor in the final success of the negotiations.

As news of the presence of the Jesuits and their Portuguese companions spread, the principal Tamóio leaders began to arrive, most of them looking upon the peace talk with great displeasure. On May 27, the notoriously cruel chief Aimbiré arrived from Rio with ten canoes determined to kill the Jesuits and break off the negotiations. But he desisted from his original intention when he learned that his son-in-law, a Frenchman who was following him with four more canoes loaded with warriors, had come upon Adorno on his way there, and recognizing that he was not Portuguese had boarded his ship and had been prevailed upon to agree to the proposed peace. Thus, through the mediation of the Genoese Adorno, Aimbiré's son-in-law had returned to Rio with letters to the French leaders there asking them to join in the peace; and in turn the Frenchman had advised Adorno to return immediately to Iperoig, sending with him an Indian messenger to notify his father-in-law and urge him to accept the peace offer. Adorno arrived in Iperoig the same day that the ten canoes had arrived, thus preventing what might have been a tragic ending of the negotiations. Aimbiré and his warriors were pacified, and they left saying that they would return the next day to discuss the peace terms more carefully.

The following morning Pindobuçu, desirous of concluding the peace without delay, requested of Anchieta that he bring Adorno, the captain of the Portuguese vessels, ashore, in order that a council might be called. This was done after a brother of Pindobuçu, who was among the many Indians who had been milling about the boats since early morning, primarily engaged in trade, agreed to remain on one of the boats as hostage to assure the safety of Adorno. Anchieta, Nóbrega, and the Genoese made their way through the woods to the Jesuit abode in Iperoig, where the Tamóio chiefs soon gathered. The room virtually bristled with bows and arrows, swords, and daggers. Aimbiré, seated in the midst of his warriors, wearing a handsome black cloak, and holding a gleaming sword in his hand, directed his

questions to the Jesuits through a Frenchman from Rio who accompanied him. Adorno, serving as the intermediary of the Portuguese, had been chosen by Nóbrega to take part in the negotiations not only because of the Jesuit leader's complete confidence in him, but also because by being a native of Genoa the Tamóios' hatred of the Portuguese could not be directed against him. Also, in this instance, the fact that Adorno had been educated in France and spoke the language without difficulty enabled him the more easily to win over the Frenchman, and through him hold back the restless armed hand of Aimbiré, whose warriors awaited only the word of their leader to pounce upon the peace emissaries and revel in a bloody orgy of vengeance for the death of some of their tribesmen in the recent attacks on the Portuguese settlements. Anchieta, who knew the native tongue, kept Adorno correctly informed of every word the Tamóio chief uttered.

At this important gathering it was proposed to the Tamóios that they make peace with the Portuguese and all of their Indian allies, and engage in friendly trade with them. But the Tamóio leader demanded as a preliminary to any settlement that some of the Tupi leaders who had fought on the side of the Portuguese in the recent wars be turned over to them that they might kill and eat them and thus settle accounts. The Jesuits stated that they could not comply with this demand; and since Aimbiré, with the expression of "a bloodthirsty wolf," was adamant, and since he represented a large part of the Tamóio confederacy, Anchieta wrote that it appeared that the negotiations "would soon be broken by the breaking of our skulls."¹⁰⁶ Aware of the dilemma, Adorno now stated that he could not make a definite agreement without first consulting the authorities in São Vicente. Pindobuçú, who up to this point had remained silent, now intervened, and convinced Aimbiré that Adorno be permitted to present the case before the officials in São Vicente. Anchieta wrote letters to the authorities there informing them of the progress of the peace talks, and insisting that under no circumstances should any friendly Indians be turned over to the Tamóios, "even though it should cost us our lives."¹⁰⁷ Frustrated in their plots at Iperoig, Aimbiré and his warriors, armed with their fine weapons furnished by the French at Rio and Cabo Frio, now returned to their canoes and directed their course southward,

¹⁰⁶ CJ, III, 207.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 209.

with the intention of raiding the Portuguese settlements and the garrison at Bertioğa. But Adorno had already been there on his way back to São Vicente, and the garrison was well prepared for an assault. As the canoes approached some of the Tamóio hostages were sent out to meet them, and when the erstwhile angry tribesmen landed on the beach they were in a friendly mood, and their leader stated that he and his people were now fully convinced of the good faith of the Portuguese, and desired only the speedy establishment of a lasting peace.

During the two weeks that the above negotiations were in progress, and during the following days of uncertainty, awaiting news from São Vicente, the two Jesuit hostages had many narrow escapes from death. On one occasion, while most of the natives of two near-by *aldeias* that they were visiting had gone into the mountains to bring down a log for the construction of a canoe, they found themselves alone on the beach when a canoe appeared from the direction of Rio. Sensing danger, they decided to hasten to the *aldeia* of Pindobuçu where they could be assured of his protection. They fled as fast as they could, plunging waist-deep into a stream that blocked the steep ascent to the *aldeia*. The canoe was approaching rapidly, and since Nóbrega with his infirmities could hardly drag himself along, Anchieta attempted to carry him across. But it was too much for his delicate frame, which still tired easily, and Nóbrega tumbled into the water in mid-stream. Entirely drenched, they hid in the woods to rest, and perhaps would not have reached their destination had they not come upon a native whom they cajoled into carrying Nóbrega the remainder of the way. They arrived only to find that Pindobuçu was not at home; but the latter's uncle, the only one there, let them in. Meanwhile, their pursuers had pulled their canoes ashore, and were soon at the door of the cabin, some thirty strong. It so happened that the leader of the group was Paranáuçu, the son of Pindobuçu, who was leading seven or eight canoes on a raid upon the Portuguese settlements to the south, and upon hearing of the fame of the two Jesuit hostages had set out ahead in order to assure for himself the honor of killing them. With an ominous smile on his countenance he repeated many times, among other things, "The French tell us that all you want is that many of us go to your lands so that you may kill us, and that at the opportune moment you will flee."¹⁰⁸ But finally, impressed by the serenity and calm of the Jesuits, and

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 212-213.

the eloquence of Anchieta, they left with a change of heart, their leader departing with the words: "Since I, who came in such a fury, did not kill you, no one will kill you, even though all who come may come with the same purpose in mind."¹⁰⁹ The natives who in leaving their *aldeia* had left the two Jesuits exposed to such danger, soon learned of the incident, and one of their leaders, Cunhambeba, gravely concerned about their safety, hastened to the scene. He took them to his *aldeia*, where Nóbrega said Mass in a small chapel the Indian leader had built, followed by a joyous celebration to which the natives of a near-by *aldeia* had been invited. Yet it was obvious that not all of the Tamóios were of the same mind, for the outlying farms of the captaincy of São Vicente were still being harassed by Indian raids. Patiently listening to the just complaints of the Tamóios, Nóbrega and Anchieta continued their peaceful efforts.

Meanwhile, rebellious Tupis from the forest approached Itanhaén, south of São Vicente, with the avowed purpose of killing the Tamóio hostages and preventing the peace. The Portuguese military leader at São Vicente was not caught napping, and accompanied by the Tamóios he led a successful foray against them. Some of the enemy were captured by the Portuguese and turned over to the Tamóios as a proof of friendship and the desire for peace. This act caused the Jesuit peacemakers much anguish, for it meant cannibalistic vengeance upon the captured Tupis, contrary to all the principles upon which they were working. The authorities in São Vicente, on the other hand, believed that this act had sealed the peace with the Tamóios, and sent a boat to Iperoig to fetch Nóbrega and Anchieta, since they wished to consult with them before the final conclusion of peace. However, the Tamóios did not wish to part with both hostages as yet, and so it was agreed that Anchieta should remain at Iperoig. It was the logical choice because of his knowledge of the native language, his greater physical stamina, and his way with the Indians. Nóbrega, old and plagued with painful infirmities, but full of hope in ultimate victory, left Iperoig on June 21, and upon reaching São Vicente was welcomed "with a strange joy, as one who had emerged from the very jaws of fierce jaguars of the forest."¹¹⁰ Two days previously, twenty-one canoes filled with Tamóios from Rio, points along the coast, and Iperoig, arrived in São Vicente to celebrate the impending peace.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 213.

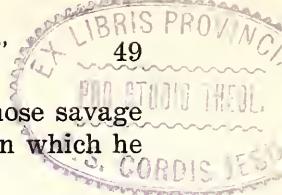
¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 215.

Anchieta thus remained at Iperoig, with a friend named Antonio Luiz and several of his Indian slaves. Luiz's wife, family, a sister-in-law, and most of his slaves had been carried off by the Tamóios, and he had now gone to Iperoig with much barter in the hope of ransoming them. Not only did he fail in his purpose, but he was a constant source of anxiety for Anchieta, because the natives did not respect him as they did the Jesuits. The night of June 25, a group of braves from Rio and other outlying regions decided to kill one of Luiz's slaves. The ominous preliminary Indian celebration, with dancing and shouting in a drunken orgy, led Anchieta to plead with them, but to no avail. Forcing their way into Anchieta's abode, they dragged out the victim, crushed his skull, then dismembered the body, and with fingers and lips covered with human blood and fat, they concluded their cannibalistic feast with singing and dancing. Anchieta adds: "Some of them even scooped up blood in their cupped hands and lapped it up, a most abominable sight."¹¹¹ It was a God forsaken atmosphere in which Anchieta lived. His heroism in the face of dangers is astounding. Events of his stay bear further testimony to his trust in the hand of Providence. There was his attempt to save the life of an infant buried alive because of a superstition regarding its parentage; visits by perverse warriors who gloried in boasting to him of the many enemies they had killed or eaten; visits by impetuous braves whose sole aim, apparently, was to kill him, but who left without carrying out their original intent, to his utter astonishment. Anchieta's earnest zeal for the salvation of the natives won the respect and affection of all those with whom he was in daily contact; he bled the sick, healed the diseased, and they had implicit faith in his power of prophecy and conjuration. But life was cheap among them, if they felt that vengeance must be wrecked on an enemy, and Anchieta expected a violent martyrdom at any moment. He wrote:

I finally became convinced that there was little to prevent them from killing me, and so I determined to give myself more intimately to God, endeavoring not only to be better prepared for death, but also desiring and requesting it of God, Our Lord, with continuous prayers and inflamed desires. And I confess my weakness, which afflicted my flesh with constant fears, but the Spirit, by the grace of God, came quickly to my assistance.¹¹²

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 216.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 217.



To keep his mind occupied with noble thoughts in those savage surroundings, he composed a long poem to the Virgin which he later wrote down in Latin verse.

Boats frequently visited Iperoig from São Vicente, and occasionally a few friends remained with Anchieta. And so when boats were seen approaching it was hard to tell whether it was friend or foe. Visits by natives from Rio made it clear that they were primarily responsible for the delays in the negotiations. Their visits to Iperoig were frequently to stir up trouble. Various intrigues aimed at compromising the armistice were exposed. In moments of peril, however, old Pindobugu was always at Anchieta's side. Frequently he would tell him: "My son Joseph, have no fear, for even should your people kill all my tribesmen who are in your land, I would not permit your death, for I know that you speak the truth."¹¹³ The most distressing and serious setback came during the first week of July, when through the false report of a fugitive slave, to the effect that all his Tamóio tribesmen at São Vicente would be massacred, the large group of Tamóios from Rio who had gone to São Vicente at the time of Nóbrega's return fled to their *aldeias*. Decades of Portuguese slave raids had created a spirit of distrust toward the Portuguese which the missionaries found it difficult to overcome.

For three long months Anchieta remained in Iperoig, assuring the continuance of the armistice there while Nóbrega labored in São Vicente to settle the peace. Finally Nóbrega reconciled the Tamóios and Tupis in the church at Itanhaén, where they embraced each other as friends. In these negotiations Cunhambeba represented the Tamóios of Iperoig. Shortly after, some of the Tamóios went to Piratininga, where they were joined by over three hundred tribesmen from the banks of the Paraíba, and in the Jesuit church there a second reconciliation took place. The leader of the group from the Paraíba region had previously gone to Iperoig to discuss the peace with Anchieta, and the latter had assured him of a peaceful reception at Piratininga. Since the peace negotiations were proceeding successfully, Anchieta, many times reported dead, was now sent for. He returned to the settlements after a residence of five months among the Tamóios. The loyal chief Cunhambeba, accompanied by eighteen other natives, carried him safely back to São Vicente in a log canoe. Bertioiga was reached on September 22, after what Anchieta described as the roughest and most perilous voyage he ever experienced. It

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 223.

had taken seven days to travel some twenty-odd leagues. The voyage was made in secrecy in order not to arouse suspicion in the minds of the natives of Rio, and others in Iperoig, who might resent the removal of the Portuguese hostage while many of their tribesmen were still in São Vicente.¹¹⁴

Anchieta found the Portuguese settlements and the friendly *aldeias* of the captaincy suffering from a veritable epidemic of diseases. Most widespread were smallpox and a loathsome leprous disease from which few survived, and which caused the poisoned flesh of the body to fall away in pieces, the wounds attracting flies and breeding worms, and at the same time emitting a horrible stench. Anchieta traveled the road from São Vicente to Piratininga attending the sick, because of his special skill at bleeding and surgery.¹¹⁵

The natives of Iperoig were faithful to their pact. But those of Rio and Cabo Frio were still hostile. As Anchieta wrote, "the conclusion of this peace was but the end of one war and the beginning of another."¹¹⁶ The removal of the French menace and the subjugation of the hostile Tamóios at Rio by conquest, followed by the colonization of the region, was the final step necessary to secure the safety of communication between northern and southern Brazil, and to remove the last important obstacle to the peace and security of the coastal and inland settlements of São Vicente. Despite the destruction of Fort Coligny in 1560, no Portuguese had remained in Rio. Nóbrega now insisted on the importance of establishing a settlement there; and an added motive to hasten the undertaking was the information received by Anchieta from a Frenchman at Iperoig to the effect that all his countrymen at Rio hated bitterly the religion of the Portuguese.¹¹⁷

The story of the permanent conquest and colonization of Rio need not be repeated here.¹¹⁸ It brought to a successful conclusion a series of significant Jesuit contributions toward the permanent

¹¹⁴ Leite, *História*, I, 373, note 1; CJ, III, 231-232.

¹¹⁵ CJ, III, 238-240.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 233.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 208-209.

¹¹⁸ Brief English accounts may be found in Jacobsen, "Nóbrega," 181-182, and Southey, I, 308-314. The best secondary accounts in Portuguese are Leite, "Conquista e fundação do Rio de Janeiro," in his *Páginas*, 217-228; *id.*, *História*, I, 381-389; and J. Capistrano de Abreu in Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, *História Geral do Brasil*, 5 volumes, third edition, São Paulo, n. d., I, 427-429. All of the secondary accounts are founded on Anchieta's letter to the Father General, São Vicente, January 8, 1565, and his letter to Father Diogo Mirão, Bahia, July 9, 1565, CJ, III, 236-237, 245-254. See also Alcantara Machado's notes to these letters.

Portuguese colonization of southern Brazil which began with the founding of São Paulo de Piratininga, and reached the turning point at Iperoig. In the founding of Rio, Nóbrega was the inspiration and guiding spirit. Anchieta, as his secretary, played a secondary but equally glorious role. When Estacio de Sá, in command of the two galleons sent from Portugal to aid in the conquest, arrived at Rio in 1564, he immediately sent for Nóbrega to seek his advice. Answering the call, the latter took Anchieta with him. Traveling in a small boat, they left São Vicente on March 19 and reached Rio on March 31, a distance of two hundred miles in twelve days. It was decided to reorganize in São Vicente before attempting the attack on Rio. The Tamóios of Iperoig remained faithful, and safe communication between São Vicente and Rio was assured. During the early stages of the campaign, Anchieta assisted Nóbrega in rounding up the necessary soldiers and colonists. He and Father Gonçalo Oliveira led the first contingent of mamelukes and Indians from São Vicente and Piratininga to Rio, most of the latter taken from the Jesuit *aldeias*.¹¹⁹

The time for a great moment in the life of Anchieta finally arrived. After fourteen years in the Society as a tried scholastic and missionary he was to be ordained. On March 31, 1565, he was sent to Bahia to receive Holy Orders. At the same time Nóbrega designated him as special emissary to inform the governor of the situation at Rio, and of the necessity for sending additional reinforcements at the earliest possible moment. On the way he was to stop at Espírito Santo; there he visited the Jesuit house and near-by Indian *aldeias*, and looked over the possibilities for obtaining settlers from there. Received in Bahia by the provincial Grã, he was finally ordained by Bishop Pedro Leitão in 1566.

In Bahia he clamored for aid for Rio; and on July 9, 1565, he wrote a letter to his superior in Portugal describing the situation there. The officials in Bahia were in agreement that a more powerful fleet and more missionaries were needed. Also the Lisbon authorities were impressed, and on August 24, 1566, a fleet of three additional galleons arrived at Bahia. With the fleet came the Jesuit Visitor Inácio Azevedo accompanied by seven other members of the Society. To the fleet the governor added three caravels, men, and supplies, and he accompanied the ships to Rio with the bishop, the Jesuit Visitor, the Jesuit provincial, and several other Jesuits including Anchieta, now an ordained priest.

¹¹⁹ CJ, III, 255, note 265, and 462, note 666.

They left Bahia in November and arrived in Rio on January 18, 1567, after taking aboard some Indians at Espírito Santo. The final conquest of Rio was now accomplished within a few weeks, and the present capital of Brazil took form, composed of Portuguese, mamelukes, and Indians from many Jesuit *aldeias*.

Of the Jesuits who participated in the founding of Rio, Nóbrega stands out above all others.¹²⁰ But with his name must be linked that of Anchieta, his secretary, who tirelessly assisted him at every step. Anchieta was at the encampment at Rio during the first months there; in his mission to Bahia he played a most important role; and he participated in the final conquest. Last but not least, historians have been able to record the details of this important page in the history of Brazil thanks to Anchieta, the chronicler of the expedition; all the secondary accounts that have since been written have necessarily been based primarily on Anchieta's letters.¹²¹

VI

Toward the end of February 1567 the Jesuit leaders inspected the residences in the captaincy of São Vicente. At Piratininga they held a conference and came to the important decision to transfer the Jesuit center from São Paulo to Rio. The king had promised an endowment for a great college in the new city.

The group was back in Rio on July 24 to select the site, Nóbrega being the superior.¹²² Father José remained with him to assist in laying the foundations, but in October he was obliged to go to the Jesuit residence in São Vicente, because he had been assigned superior.¹²³ This, his first administrative post, entailed no small amount of labor, for his charge extended to São Paulo as well. He had to gather aid for the new establishment at Rio; missionary work in his vineyard had to be directed. His own activities went on unabated. Ever in quest of souls, he trod many tangled paths, traveled great distances along beaches, descended rivers, braved the forests, and ministered to his flock tirelessly. Of his preaching against vice, he wrote: "I am a hound of the house of God; I shall not cease barking." For feast days at the Portuguese settlements and the Indian *aldeias* he wrote and directed religious plays, and composed hymns and poems in four

¹²⁰ See especially, in this regard, the remarks of J. Capistrano de Abreu in Varnhagen, I, 431; Southey, I, 314; Leite, *História*, I, 389.

¹²¹ These letters are cited in note 118, above.

¹²² Leite, *História*, I, 398.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, II, 482; Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 553.

languages, Tupi, Latin, Portuguese, and Spanish. His many acts of charity daily became a part of the folk tradition of the captaincy, as he ministered to all who sought spiritual or corporal succor, be they Indians, mamelukes, Negroes, or whites. In 1570 deep in the forest he nearly lost his life. His canoe having been pulled into the whirling waters of a cascade overturned, throwing him under the water, and his life was saved only by the skill of an Indian swimmer. He was seeking out two settlers who, accused of murder, had fled into the backcountry to the protection of hostile Indians. It was feared that the fugitives, because of their known character, might stir up the Indians to attack the settlements, and Anchieta had assumed the responsibility of averting the danger. He not only found the criminals, but convinced them to return penitent to São Paulo, where he obtained their pardon from the civil authorities.¹²⁴

Among Anchieta's achievements as superior at São Vicente, one of the most important was his conversion of the Tapuias Maramomis, a tribe that roamed the forests between the two captaincies of São Vicente and Espírito Santo. They were given lands to live on at Bertioga, where Anchieta, accompanied by Father Manuel Viegas, spent two weeks among them. Anchieta found time to prepare, with the assistance of an interpreter, a vocabulary and a few basic rules of grammar for learning the language of the newly converted tribe. As his duties called him to São Vicente, Anchieta left Viegas in charge of the *aldeia*. Later the Maramomis were localized in large *aldeias* near both Piratininga and Rio, where many years later they still lived with other domesticated tribes under the direction of the Jesuits.¹²⁵

In 1573 Anchieta was appointed rector of the Jesuit college in Rio, but the provincial preferred to retain him as superior in São Vicente.¹²⁶ He remained there until April 8, 1577, when he became a professed father preliminary to higher administrative duties.¹²⁷ He was sent to Bahia to take over the rectorship of the college there, but as at Rio other orders intervened. The year previous he had been named by the Father General of the Society in Rome Provincial of Brazil.¹²⁸ Before leaving São Vicente, it is well to recall the great transformation that had taken place

¹²⁴ Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 165-167; Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 553-554.

¹²⁵ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 554-555; *id.*, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 77-78.

¹²⁶ Leite, *História*, I, 400, 403.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 480.

¹²⁸ *Idem.*

in southern Brazil during the twenty-odd years of Anchieta's apostolate. All was not exclusively his work, but very little was accomplished without his collaboration: the founding of São Paulo; the founding of Rio; the founding of Indian *aldeias*; the pacification, subjugation, and conversion of hostile tribes; teaching and evangelizing; expeditions into the hinterland; fighting vice and injustice; governing the captaincy; linking the coast to the plateau and blazing new trails into the interior; assuring unity by fighting off foreign attack. Anchieta's best days were spent in São Vicente, and when he left, having labored much, he carried with him the wounds of his apostolate, a bent and aching back, feet swollen and lacerated from long journeys, and hands calloused and worn from hard labor at many skills.

Anchieta assumed his responsibilities as Jesuit Provincial shortly after his arrival in Bahia.¹²⁹ Little that was spectacular occurred during the first years of his provincialate. But his special gift for settling discords, consoling the afflicted, and bringing peace of mind to those in distress won him the admiration and respect of nearly everyone with whom he came in contact. He settled differences between Spaniards and Portuguese following the Spanish conquest of Portugal in 1580; he settled private and public quarrels; he won many to the Church and others into the Society; through his intercession the life of a captured Englishman was spared; he was consulted by the civil authorities to settle disputes between the government and the people.¹³⁰ He visited more than once the residences of the province. After voyages to Pernambuco, Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo, Rio, and São Vicente, in November 1579, he was in Piratininga, whence he made his way back to Bahia.¹³¹

Anchieta governed with prudence during the most difficult period the Jesuits faced in the sixteenth century, for his term as provincial coincided with the governorship of unfriendly Teles Barreto. He set an example of virtue and charity; he was accused by some of ruling his cohorts with too much leniency. However, with the timely assistance of Cristóvão de Gouveia, the second Jesuit Visitor, who was in Brazil from 1583 to 1589, all of his difficult administrative problems were successfully

¹²⁹ Sometime between April 8, 1577, and June 7, 1578, for by the latter date he had already assumed the office. CJ, III, 265, Anchieta to Gaspar Schetz, Bahia, June 7, 1578.

¹³⁰ See Leite, *História*, I, 225, 397, 499, and the biographies by Caxa, Rodrigues, etc.

¹³¹ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 555.

met.¹³² For the Jesuits this was a critical period. The era of pioneering along the coastal fringe was drawing to a close, and through the authority of the Visitor a more or less permanent Jesuit pattern of action in Brazil was now formulated. During his stay the Visitor was highest in authority, and since Anchieta's illnesses were daily becoming more serious, in reality he also acted as provincial.¹³³ Fernão Cardim, chronicler of Gouveia's tour of inspection of Brazil, does not mention Anchieta among the Jesuits who welcomed the Visitor upon his arrival in Bahia on May 9, 1583.¹³⁴ It is probable that at the moment he was visiting one of the other Jesuit residences in connection with his duties as provincial. He accompanied Gouveia on nearly all of his visits to the different houses of the province, failing to do so only when serious illness prevented. In describing a return to Porto Seguro, Cardim has left a memorable glimpse of the great apostle Anchieta. He writes:

And as we made our way along a beach, an Indian woman, dressed in the customary manner, was seen descending a steep slope carrying a jar of porcelain from India filled with sugar cakes, and a large jug of cool water. She said that her master had sent these to the Father Provincial Joseph. The Father Visitor and I took our fill and told her that the rest should be given to Father Joseph, who was far in the rear, his cassock tucked up at his waist, as he made his way barefoot, and exhausted. This father is a saint, great in example and in prayer, full of all perfection and humility, and apart from all worldly things. He is a great pillar of this province; he has done much for Christianity, and has always been exemplary. He usually travels on foot, and insists upon walking even when seriously ill. In short, his life is truly apostolic.¹³⁵

At the capital, Anchieta was present at the important Provincial Congregation of December 8, 1583, where plans were made for the first Jesuit expedition to Paraguay.¹³⁶ On January 3 of the following year he set out with Gouveia on his visitation of the *aldeias* of Espírito Santo, Santo Antonio, and São João. They were back in Bahia on February 20. At the end of

¹³² See J. Manuel Espinosa, "Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (January 1942), 27-60.

¹³³ Leite, *História*, II, 492.

¹³⁴ Unless otherwise specified, the account of Anchieta's participation in the Visitor's tour of inspection of Brazil is based on Cardim's account: Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, edited by Rodolfo Garcia et al, second edition, São Paulo, 1939, 247-318.

¹³⁵ Cardim, *Tratados*, 263-264.

¹³⁶ Leite, *História*, II, 501-502.

June, when the Visitor was finally able to make the trip to Pernambuco, Anchieta, seriously ill, was obliged to remain behind. His health was failing rapidly, and in a letter dated August 8, he asked the Father General, Aquaviva, that he be relieved of office due to his ill health. He had not had a day of good health since early March.¹³⁷ Gouveia, on November 1, wrote that Anchieta should be relieved of his administrative duties because "he will not live much longer."¹³⁸ He did not accompany Gouveia when the latter left to visit the southern residences in the middle of November. He was convalescing from a grave illness which almost cost him his life.¹³⁹ It appears, however, that he left Bahia to join the Visitor during the early part of 1585,¹⁴⁰ taking with him Father Gonçalo de Oliveira, recently readmitted into the Society.¹⁴¹ With the Visitor Father José was back in Bahia early in October.¹⁴² In 1586 he is still referred to in the Jesuit catalogue as provincial; theoretically he remained in office until the arrival of his successor in 1587.¹⁴³

At the conclusion of his provincialate Anchieta was sent to Rio, and from there, between June and September of 1587, to Espírito Santo.¹⁴⁴ The two last Jesuit catalogues which mention him, those of 1589 and 1591, list him as superior of the Jesuit residence there.¹⁴⁵ On May 25, 1592, in his capacity as superior at Espírito Santo, he attended the Provincial Congregation in Bahia, and despite the growing weight of his illnesses he made the provincial visitation of Rio in 1593 and 1594.¹⁴⁶ His active service was almost at an end. In 1595 he left for the near-by Indian *aldeia* of Reritiba. His companions insisted that he be carried there on the shoulders of four Indians, but on the way he deserted his carriers and reached Reritiba on foot.¹⁴⁷ The pro-

¹³⁷ Leite, *Páginas*, 189-194, Anchieta to the Father General, Bahia, August 8, 1584.

¹³⁸ Letter of Gouveia cited in Leite, *História*, II, 486. The following year Gouveia repeated the plea. (*Ibid.*, II, 481.)

¹³⁹ Leite, *Páginas*, 140.

¹⁴⁰ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 556; *id.*, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 82.

¹⁴¹ On the story of Father Oliveira, who, it will be recalled, played an important role as Anchieta's companion during the conquest of Rio, the latter serving for years as his confessor, see Leite, *História*, I, 492, and *id.*, *Páginas*, 140.

¹⁴² During this time the Jesuit residence in São Vicente was transferred to Santos, a move long requested by the residents of Santos, and already given impetus by Grã and Anchieta. Leite, *História*, I, 262-264.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, II, 482.

¹⁴⁴ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 556.

¹⁴⁵ Leite, *História*, II, 482.

¹⁴⁶ *Idem*; *ibid.*, II, 442, 502.

¹⁴⁷ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 557.

vincial Pero Rodrigues wrote from Pernambuco on March 24, 1596, that Anchieta "is ill and tired, and so I removed him from the post of superior, since he requested that this be done due to his inability to carry such burdens any longer."¹⁴⁸ While he was convalescing he took advantage of the opportunity to write on the missions and on the lives of some of the Jesuits who had died in Brazil. Unfortunately, only fragments of these biographies have been preserved, as found in the works of early Jesuit writers such as Rodrigues, Vasconcellos, and Franco. According to Vasconcellos, Anchieta returned to Espírito Santo in 1596, on the advice of his superior, and showed signs of recovery.¹⁴⁹ Staying five or six months he returned to Reritiba, only to suffer a relapse. After about six months he was returned to the city, where he could be given closer attention, but he grew steadily worse and was again returned to the *aldeia*.¹⁵⁰ Three weeks later he died there, surrounded by five of his companions and disciples. He was sixty-three years old, having spent the better part of his life, forty-four years, in Brazil. Of his last moments his companion Rodrigues writes:

He was in agony for about half an hour, awaiting his death with such calm and peace that it appeared that he was in prayer; and with his dimming eyes he gave thanks for the favors that were being bestowed upon him. Thus he gave up his spirit to God, on June 9, 1597.¹⁵¹

When the Indians of the surrounding *aldeias* heard of his death, we are told, they wept loudly, as was their custom at the death of one of their most important leaders. Anchieta's body was placed in a wooden box, and in a pompous procession, a cross raised at the head, the casket was carried eighteen leagues on the shoulders of Indians from Reritiba to Espírito Santo. The priests and Indians who thus made their way over those many leagues, sang hymns and prayed along the way. In the city they were met by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the secular clergy, the Franciscan fathers, the various local religious brotherhoods carrying lighted torches and religious emblems, and the populace. The body was taken to the Jesuit church of Santiago,

¹⁴⁸ Leite, *História*, II, 443, 485.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 243.

¹⁵⁰ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 557.

¹⁵¹ Rodrigues, "Vida," 223-224. See also Leite, *História*, II, 483; Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 557.

Reritiba, now called Anchieta, is the most famous *aldeia* of Espírito Santo due to the fact the Anchieta spent his last days there. Some authors refer to him as the founder of the *aldeia*, in 1565 or 1567. It is possible, but unlikely.

where a solemn Mass was sung, and the administrative prelate preached a sermon in which Anchieta was acclaimed as "the Apostle of Brazil." Then Anchieta's body was laid away. Later, part of his remains were removed to Bahia, and from there his relics found their way to various Jesuit establishments in Brazil and Europe. At present the exact whereabouts of his remains is unknown.¹⁵²

VII

Worthy of special recognition is Anchieta's contribution to Brazilian literature and learning. He has been rightfully acclaimed the father of Brazilian literature. Although he wrote in four languages: Tupi, Portuguese, Latin, and Spanish, he thought and wrote as a Brazilian, and, in every sense, his writings are the first manifestations of a Brazilian national literature. The languages in which he wrote were all the languages of colonial Brazil. His literary work consists of his letters and reports, plays, poems, hymns, sermons, and linguistic studies, as well as religious writings for use in his work of evangelization. Some of his prose writings are notable contributions to colonial Hispanic American creative literature. His long letter describing his experiences at Iperoig is the great adventure story of colonial Brazil. Written with terrifying realism it reminds one of some of the best examples of modern Hispanic American jungle narratives. In a different vein are passages in some of his letters and sermons which are a part of the literature of sixteenth-century Hispanic mysticism and asceticism. In style and spirit, his writings are characterized by candid realism, poetic sensitivity, a powerful imagination, keen observation, psychological insight, and a sense of the dramatic.

Anchieta has been called the first poet of Portuguese America. His poetry, in four languages, falls into three groupings: his hymns and short poems, his long heroic poems, and his plays. Most of his short poems and hymns were originally written in Tupi or Portuguese, and many of them evoke the Brazilian scene.¹⁵³ Some of them are of true lyric beauty.¹⁵⁴ His two long

¹⁵² Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 170-172; Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 557-560; Leite, *História*, II, 470, note 2, and 483, note 2.

¹⁵³ See Afrânio Peixoto, ed., *Primeiras Letras, Cantos de Anchieta . . .*, Rio de Janeiro, 1923, 9-201; Rodrigues, "Vida," 235; Leite, *História*, I, 248, and II, 298, note 6, 378, 527; *id.*, *Páginas*, 157, note 184.

¹⁵⁴ See especially the poem written in honor of St. Agnes, reproduced in Leite, *História*, II, 604.

heroic poems were written in Latin: *De Beata Virgine Dei Matre Maria*, on the life of the Blessed Virgin, a poem inspired in the forests of Iperoig, and *De rebus gestis Mendi de Sa praesidis in Brasilia*, in honor of Governor Mem de Sá.¹⁵⁵ The poem to the Virgin, consisting of 4,172 verses, is the first important poem written in Brazil.¹⁵⁶

The plays written by Anchieta, like his hymns and most of his poems, served their purpose of instruction and edification, and with his religious dialogues and other popular religious writings, were an important link between barbarism and civilization in those early frontier days. He gave dramatic art in the nascent colony its first real impulse. The theater had been introduced into Brazil by the first colonists, who presented religious plays, or *autos*, in the churches in the traditional Portuguese manner. But the first plays written in Brazil were by Jesuits. These were of two types, those for the Indian *aldeias* and the populace, and those for the students in the colleges. The Jesuit popular theater in Brazil had the dual aim of cultivating literary taste among the colonists, and spreading Christianity. Anchieta was not the only Jesuit who wrote such plays, but none equaled him in productivity and literary merit. The plays written for the Indian *aldeias*, dramatized lessons in Christian doctrine, contain many native elements. They were performed on a platform or in the open, with the variegated exotic forest as the background, and native costumes were worn. Native songs and dances, to the accompaniment of both native and Portuguese musical instruments, were given a Christian meaning by Anchieta and introduced into the scene. The actors spoke in Tupi, Portuguese, and Spanish. Other of Anchieta's plays were directed more toward the Portuguese and mameluke populace, and satirized the vices of the colony. Not rarely did Anchieta, in his *autos*, touch upon a bare reality, repeating on the stage a true episode, and choosing as an actor the very individual portrayed in the dramatization. This was a remarkable method of religious teaching, because the sinner was punished on the stage; the final scene covered him with ridicule, the multitude laughed at him, and the actor reformed. This was a comedy of customs, for the plot was taken from the daily life of the colony. Of such plays the earliest is Anchieta's famous *Auto de Pregação Universal*, written be-

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 533-534.

¹⁵⁶ It is printed as an appendix to Simão Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil* . . ., second edition, Lisbon, 1865.

tween 1567 and 1570. It was presented many times along the coast, and may be regarded as the first work of the Brazilian theater. At Espírito Santo, Anchieta wrote and presented some of his best *autos*. Notable is the one entitled *Vila da Vitória*, with which he honored the capital of Espírito Santo, written in Portuguese and Spanish. One of the characters represents the "Government"; speaking, of course, in Portuguese. In the play Anchieta sets forth the qualities of good government.¹⁵⁷

Of his informative writings, special mention should be made of his pioneer linguistic studies, his letters and reports. The most important of his linguistic studies are his grammar and vocabulary of the Tupi language. His grammar became the textbook used in the Jesuit colleges in Brazil, and was finally published in Coimbra, in 1595, under the title *Arte de grammatica da língoa mais usada na costa do Brasil*. The first grammar of the Tupi language to be published, it is a work which gave to Anchieta great renown. As for his letters and reports, they are of paramount importance for our knowledge of the land and the people of sixteenth-century Brazil. Some of them are treatises of first importance for the study of the natural history, ethnology, and native folklore and customs. They display a well-nigh encyclopedic knowledge, the result of wide reading and scientific observation. Sometimes he discusses juridico-moral problems in relation to the Indians, and he always defends their freedom. His letters and reports, furthermore, along with those of some of his fellow Jesuits, constitute our best source of information on the social, religious, and intellectual life of Brazil during the second half of the sixteenth century.

VIII

After his death Anchieta's fame spread, and he became legendary. His personal austerity, his intellectual brilliance, his literary and scientific accomplishments, his outstanding virtues, and the many prodigious feats attributed to him during his forty-four years in Brazil, surrounded him with such fame that of all the Jesuits of colonial Brazil he became the most popular and the most venerated. His early biographies, the testimony of his contemporaries, are long recitals of his saintly virtues, his

¹⁵⁷ See Peixoto, *Primeiras Letras*, 143-190; Leite, *História*, I, 224, and II, 102, 599-612; Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 157-158; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 53-56; Musio da Paixão, "Do teatro no Brasil," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Tomo Especial, Parte IV, Rio de Janeiro, 1917, 677-681.

prophecies and miracles. And the popular veneration which accompanies the memory of Anchieta in Brazil has passed beyond national boundaries. The cause for his beatification was introduced in Rome, and his heroic virtues recognized on August 10, 1736, by Pope Clement XII. Many have called this declaration of the heroic character of Anchieta's virtues a decree of beatification. However, he has not yet been beatified. The investigation for his beatification and canonization was stopped during the Pombalian persecution, but was reopened at the beginning of the present century.¹⁵⁸

With the passing of the years Anchieta has become a symbol of the Brazilian spirit. In many ways he lives in the memory of the Brazilian people. Reritiba, the scene of his death, is now named Anchieta. In Nova Friburgo, a college has been named after him. In the church at Itanhaén a statue of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception is popularly called "A Virgem de Anchieta." In a near-by convent a modern glass window contains his picture. Brazilian coins and stamps carry his portrait. On April 3, 1932, in the capital of Brazil, was placed the first stone of a monument in national homage to the Society of Jesus, in the form of a statue of Anchieta, "the Apostle of Brazil."

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¹⁵⁸ Leite, *História*, II, 487, 488, note 2; CJ, III, 559.

El Rio Del Espiritu Santo

(Continued from October)

V

Cabeza de Vaca arrived in Spain while De Soto was preparing his expedition to Florida. The latter sought to enlist this only member of the Narváez expedition then in Europe, but Cabeza de Vaca, having plans of his own, declared that he could not give any information unless released from his oath of secrecy by Dorantes, who had remained in Mexico. To Charles V, however, he spoke in such a manner as to imply that Florida was the richest country in the world, and to some of his relatives he intimated that they would act wisely in accompanying De Soto.¹ What Cabeza de Vaca had seen of Florida hardly justified such a glowing account, and what he said must have been radically different from what we read in the relation he published five years later.

In this section we shall attempt to determine, by means of three of the four narratives of the De Soto expedition, those of Biedma, Ranjel, and the Gentleman of Elvas,² and from an examination of two maps based on information contained therein, whether the Rio del Espíritu Santo is the Mississippi. The fourth narrative, that of Garcilaso de la Vega, will be studied in the next section, because it was not published until sixty years after the return of the survivors, and because on this narrative is based a map representing a new concept of the geography and hydrography of what was then called Florida, *i. e.*, the Southern United States. We assume that the reader is familiar with the three accounts, with their provenance, their authenticity, and their evidential value.³ We shall briefly recall what is known about their approximate date of composition.

¹ E. G. Bourne, ed., *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida*, 2 volumes, New York, 1922², Narrative by the Gentleman of Elvas, I, 5-9.

² For the sake of convenience we shall refer throughout this section to the translations in Bourne's *Narratives*. The bibliographical introduction is now superseded by that in the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 76th. Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 71, Washington, D. C., 1939, 4-9.

³ Cf. T. H. Lewis, "The Chroniclers of De Soto's Expedition," *The Mississippi Historical Society, Publications*, VII, 1903, 379-387; J. A. Robertson's translation of the account by the Gentleman of Elvas, *infra*, II, 397-412; *Final Report*, 4-11.

With regard to the account of Ranjel, De Soto's private secretary, Oviedo wrote as follows:

And so this *Rodrigo Ranjel*, after all these things had happened, . . . came to this city of Santo Domingo, in the Island of Española, and gave an account of all these things in this royal audiencia, [to the most Reverend Licentiate Alonso López de Cerrato, its president, who] asked him and charged him that he should give me in writing an account of everything, in order that, as their Majesties chronicler of these histories of the Indies, I might gather together and include therein this conquest and discovery in the North. . . .⁴

The words italicized in the above quotation are thus commented upon by Bourne: "This sentence makes it possible to fix the date before which Oviedo secured his material, for he left Santo Domingo in August 1546." The words in brackets, which were later deleted by Oviedo and are omitted in Bourne's translation, make it possible to fix the date *after* which Ranjel gave his account of the De Soto expedition to Oviedo, for Alonso López de Cerrato arrived at Santo Domingo, January 1, 1544.⁵

As for the narrative by the Gentleman of Elvas, the printing of it "was finished on the tenth of February, of the year one thousand five hundred and fifty seven in the noble and ever loyal city of Evora,"⁶ in Portugal. Hence we may presume that it was given to the printer sometime in 1556, and that it was written sometime after 1544.

According to Ranjel's narrative in Oviedo, the day after leaving Xuala, the expeditionaries,

wading up to their shins, crossed the river by which they were later to depart in the brigantines which they had made. This river, when it reaches the sea, the chart indicates to be the *Rio del Spiritu Sancto*, which according to the maps of the geographer Alonso de Chaves, empties into a great bay, and the mouth of this river, where the water is salt, is thirty-one degrees north of the equator.⁷

In his edition of the Ranjel account, Bourne annotated this passage, saying in part:

The map of Alonso de Chaves, which was constructed in 1536, is no longer extant . . . J. G. Shea (in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 247) assumed that De Soto had this map and studied it;

⁴ Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, I, 560; the translation is largely that of Bourne, *Narratives*, II, 48.

⁵ Oviedo, I, 158.

⁶ Bourne, *Narratives*, I, 223.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 104.

but in the judgment of the present editor the remarks in the text about Chaves' map are by Oviedo, and not derived from Rangel's diary, and consequently by no means warrant the notion that De Soto and his officers "pored over the cosmography of Alonso de Chaves."

It is quite true that the "remarks in the text about Chaves' map are by Oviedo," and that they do "not warrant the notion" mentioned in the above quotation, for from the description of the map of Chaves by Oviedo, it does not appear that the course of the Rio del Espíritu Santo was inscribed on this map, since it was primarily a sea chart; hence its study by the leaders of the expedition would have been of no avail. De Soto and his officers may not have "pored over the cosmography of Alonso de Chaves," but we know that De Soto spent the last months of 1537 and the first three months of 1538 in Seville;⁸ and since his expedition had the official sanction of the Spanish government, his pilots were given maps of the Gulf of Mexico based on the padrón kept in the Casa de la Contratación, which had been brought up to date in 1536 by Alonso de Chaves.

In Rangel's account therefore, the single mention of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is an interpolation by Oviedo. This name does not appear at all in the Elvas narrative with reference to the Mississippi;⁹ but in the report of Luis Hernández de Biedma, the *factor* of the expedition, there are four references to a Rio del Espíritu Santo, one of which clearly applies to the Rio Grande of the other two chroniclers, *i. e.*, the Mississippi.

The first of these four references is in the following passage:

On the arrival of the brigantines, the Governor directed that they should sail westward to discover a harbor, if one were near, and thence to ascertain, by exploring the coast, if any thing could be found inland. Francisco Maldonado . . . had the command. He coasted along the country, and entered all the coves, creeks and rivers which he discovered, until he arrived at a river having a good entrance and harbor, with an Indian town on the sea board. Some inhabitants approaching to traffic, he took one of them, and directly turned back with him to join us. On this voyage he was absent two months. . . .

After Maldonado got back, the Governor told him that, as we were about to set off in quest of the country which that Indian stated to be on another sea, he must return with the brigantines to Cuba, . . . and if within six months' time he should hear nothing of us, to come with

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 9-11.

⁹ The Bahía del Espíritu Santo of those two accounts of the expedition is not the bay in which the river of that name disembogues, but the bay on the west coast of Florida where De Soto landed.

the brigantines, and sail along the shore as far as the *Rio del Espiritusanto*, to which we would resort.¹⁰

The other two chroniclers of the expedition also mention the Maldonado episode, but neither refer to the Rio del Espíritu Santo as the place where De Soto expected the ships to meet him six months later, for both designate the rendezvous by two variants of an Indian name, Achuse and Ochus. The text of Rangel reads as follows:

Maldonado was despatched along the shore with the brigantines to discover a harbor to the west, . . . Maldonado discovered an excellent harbor and brought an Indian from a province adjacent to this coast which was called Achuse, . . . Captain Maldonado was sent to Havana . . . with the instructions and command of the Governor that he should return to the port that he had discovered and to that coast where the Governor expected to arrive.¹¹

The same incident is thus narrated by the Gentleman of Elvas:

The Governor directed Francisco Maldonado . . . to sail along the coast to the westward with fifty men, and look for an entrance; proposing to go himself in that direction by land, on a voyage of discovery. . . .

The Captain [returned], bringing with him an Indian from a Province called Ochus, sixty leagues from Apalache, and the news of having found a sheltered port with a good depth of water. The Governor . . . sent Maldonado to Havana for provisions with which to meet him at that port of his discovery, to which he would himself come by land; but should he not reach there that summer, then he directed him to go back to Havana and return there the next season to await him, as he would make it his express object to march in quest of Ochus.¹²

Since two out of three independent witnesses agree as to the name of the meeting place, their statement is to be preferred to that of the third which differs from them; especially since the port of Ochus—Mobile or more probably Pensacola Bay¹³—was known to Biedma.¹⁴

The second passage in Biedma's report wherein the Rio del Espíritu Santo is mentioned occurs where he speaks of the Xuala

¹⁰ Bourne, *Narratives*, II, 8-9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 81-82.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 49.

¹³ Cf. *Final Report*, 164.

¹⁴ Bourne, *Narratives*, II, 17.

region. This part of the country, he says, is hilly; "among these ridges we discovered the source of the great river which we navigated to get out of [Florida] and which we believe to be the *rio del Espiritusanto* . . ." ¹⁵ As can be seen, this opinion of Biedma is couched in less categorical terms than Oviedo's assertion in connection with Ranjel's account. In this same passage, the chronicler goes on to say that the expedition went from the Xuala region to Guasuli, an Indian village on the Hiwassee River, and from Guasuli to a town called Chiha [Chiaha], "secluded on an island [Burns Island in the Tennessee River] of this *rio de Espiritusanto*, which all the way from the place of its rise, forms very large islands."

The last time the name occurs is when the Spaniards reached Quizquiz, a town, says Biedma, which "was near the banks of the *rio del Expiritusanto*." ¹⁶ It is quite certain that this town was near the Mississippi, and hence a reader might suppose that the Mississippi was indeed known to the Spaniards as the Rio del Espiritu Santo. Such reasoning, however, is invalid, because neither Ranjel nor Elvas ever call the Mississippi by any other name than Rio Grande, and Biedma himself, who mentions the Mississippi six times after Quizquiz, always refers to it as Rio Grande.

We know that the expedition actually left Florida by way of the Mississippi. The question is what reason did Biedma have for asserting, in the second of the above passages, that the river he mentions was the headwaters of the Mississippi. Strictly speaking this statement could be defended if the expedition had followed the Tennessee to its junction with the Ohio and if they had descended the latter to the Mississippi, for the river mentioned by Biedma is very probably the Little Tennessee. It is quite certain, however, that their route was very different. The army did not follow this tributary to its junction with the Tennessee River, but left it after a few leagues, and went west overland to the Hiwassee. After descending this for a while, they headed west overland again until at last they came upon the Tennessee River above Chattanooga. The Tennessee was followed to Gunthersville, Alabama; at which point the expedition marched due south to the Coosa River. From here on, the general direction of their route is first south along the river to Mabila, situated in Clark County, Alabama; then north-northwest

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 15. "Entre estas sierras allamos el nacimiento del rio grande por donde nosotros salimos, e crehemos ser rio de Espiritusanto."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 25.

to the Chickasaw towns located in the Pontotoc-Chickasaw counties, Mississippi, and finally due west until they reached the Mississippi between the Arkansas River and the St. Francis River. From all this it is clear that the actual route of the expedition gave Biedma no reason for identifying the headwaters of the Little Tennessee with those of the great river which they descended when they left Florida.

We must now inquire what led Biedma to believe that this great river was the Rio del Espíritu Santo. His report as we know, found "its way into the Spanish archives or offices as early as 1544";¹⁷ and "is the only one of the four [main narratives of the expedition] of which the original manuscript has been preserved."¹⁸ This manuscript, however, is not the original diary or field notes of Biedma, but rather a short report based on his original record, and written after his return to Spain with a view of giving the Spanish government a general, summary account of the expedition. As we shall see, on a map made at the Casa de la Contratación to illustrate the De Soto expedition, there are quite a few names of Indian towns which are not found in any known narrative. The appearance of these names may be explained by the hypothesis that the geographers of the Casa had at their disposal not only the short report of Biedma, but some fuller account of the Southern United States, such as might have been contained in Biedma's original field notes.

From the wording of the passage under examination, Biedma is clearly expressing his belief at the time of writing that the name of the river is Rio del Espíritu Santo. As we have already noted, in his last six mentions of the Mississippi he calls it Rio Grande, the only name given to the Mississippi by Rangel and Elvas. The reason for identifying the Mississippi with the Rio del Espíritu Santo at this place is because at the time when he wrote his report he had access to a map of the Gulf of Mexico and wrote the account of his voyage in the light of this map. This would explain why he is the only one of the three chroniclers to speak of the Rio del Espíritu Santo as the meeting place assigned by De Soto to Maldonado; in spite of the fact that he knew of the port of Ochus mentioned by the other two chroniclers. This Rio del Espíritu Santo was certainly not the Missis-

¹⁷ *Relaçam verdadeira . . . feita per hũ fidalgo Deluas*, Evora, 1557, facsimile reproduction, J. A. Robertson, ed., Deland, 1932; the translation, in the second volume, Deland, 1933, is entitled, *True Relation . . . set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas*, II, 406.

¹⁸ *Final Report*, 6.

issippi, for there was not then, any more than there is now "a good entrance and harbor" at its mouth. On the map which he had before him, there was no port of Ochus, but in the north-western corner of the Gulf a large bay was shown as the mouth of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, which was certainly not the Mississippi; and it is this feature that led Biedma to write that De Soto instructed Maldonado on his return from Cuba "to sail along the shore" as far as this prominent landmark on the coast. The map which Biedma had was quite likely a copy or a variant of the Chaves lost chart; for of the three accounts, Biedma's is the only one giving "Bayahonda" [Bahía Honda] as the landing place of the expedition, and this legend first appears in the vicinity of Tampa Bay on the Chaves map of 1536.

It is very likely, then, that Biedma applied the name Rio del Espíritu Santo to the great river because he saw that river so marked on a coastal map of the Gulf. From a similar map, the author of the so-called De Soto map obtained the names of all the rivers emptying into the Gulf on the map which he drew.

The authorship and approximate date of this map was the subject of a recent study.¹⁹ That the author was Alonso de Santa Cruz seems confirmed by the following consideration. On the maps of the other geographers of the Casa, two large rivers, the "Rio Escondido," on the Texas Coast, and the "Rio del Cañaveral" or simply "el Cañaveral" east of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, are always indicated, whereas these two rivers do not appear on any of the known Santa Cruz maps, and are not marked on the De Soto map. The date of the map is made to depend on the account or accounts utilized by the cartographer. One of these is said to be probably "Ranjel's complete report," that is, Ranjel's diary itself rather than Oviedo's version of it; "for all such reports of recent voyages had to be communicated to the Casa immediately upon the return to Spain of the members of the expedition."²⁰ This is very true, but the duty of reporting to the Casa was incumbent upon the pilots or the government officials, and Ranjel was simply De Soto's private secretary. "Exactly when Ranjel turned over to the government the report written from his diary of the journey is not known."²¹ Actually, we have no evidence that Ranjel ever handed a report to the government in Spain. We only know that De Soto's secretary

¹⁹ B. Boston, "The 'De Soto Map,'" *MID-AMERICA*, XXIII (July 1941), 236-250.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 245.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 246.

told his story to Cerrato, the president of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, who charged him to write a report and give it to Oviedo. There are admittedly "a number of names on the map which do not appear in any known account," but this does not mean that they are taken from Ranjel's diary. If, as seems probable from our previous considerations, Biedma's report was based on a diary or on field notes, these were communicated to the geographers of the Casa, for Biedma was an official and as such it was his duty to report to Seville.

For the coast line, Santa Cruz made use of the Chaves padrón of 1536 with slight modifications. On this as on all early official sea charts only the mouths of the rivers emptying into the Gulf were shown. When he read, however, that the headwaters of the great river were in the foothills west of Xuala, that it formed large islands and flowed past Quizquiz, and when he further noted Biedma's belief that this was the Rio del Espíritu Santo, since on the map which he had, as well as on that which Biedma had, a Rio del Espíritu Santo was shown emptying into the Gulf in the northwest corner, Santa Cruz drew the river accordingly, joining the three points and showing large islands in its upper course.

What we said about the course of rivers shown on the maps of the second group applies equally to the course of rivers represented on this map. After all, the geographical department of the Casa was founded with the express purpose of providing pilots with *sea* charts, and the accuracy of the representation of the interior, the position of Indian villages, the course of rivers, the direction of mountain ranges, were of less importance than the location of coastal islands and the accurate delineation of the coast line. We do not mean, of course, that the Sevillian geographers were indifferent with regard to presenting a fairly reliable representation of the American hinterland; we merely mean that this was a secondary consideration with them. It must also be remembered that a chronicler of an inland journey had less need of accuracy than a ship pilot, and was consequently more careless with regard to latitudes, distances, and directions.

There is no evidence that the hydrography and the inland nomenclature were inserted in the padrón, and there was no law against geographers embodying in their own maps information derived from narratives of travels in the interior. Whether map-makers belonged to the Casa de la Contratación or not, they did not put their informant under oath nor did they require his

sworn testimony to be corroborated by witnesses—two conditions for insertion in the padrón—before accepting and inserting the data of an inland journey in the unofficial regional maps of the interior which they happened to draw. The De Soto map is a case in point. How could a member of the expedition have known, and therefore, how could Santa Cruz have known, that the river passing by Cossa, Ayataba, Talissi, Tascalussa, and Tiachi was the Rio de Flores of the old maps based on the padrón? that Alibano, Chicasa, Pafalaya were on the Rio de los Angeles? that the river which passed through Chaguet was the Rio de Montañas, et cetera? To know these details, the Spaniards would have had to descend each of these rivers to the Gulf, identify the mouth of each as being that marked on the sea chart, then reascend the river to its headwaters or proceed along the coast to the next river and explore it upstream.

Even though, as I believe, Santa Cruz had access to the diary or field notes of Biedma, and made use thereof to draw his map, still the course of the rivers on the De Soto map can hardly be said to resemble the hydrography of the Southern United States. For example what is the giant river which forks into two branches 120 miles above the Gulf and whose two mouths, marked Rio de Pescadores and Rio del Oro respectively, are one hundred miles apart on the east coast of Texas? What is the other nameless river with one mouth in the Gulf and another in the Atlantic? The Rio del Espíritu Santo on this map has multiple headwaters, two in the east and two in the north. The easternmost rises in the foothills of a mountain range at the top of the map; the longitude of this source is due north of Bahía Honda, our Tampa Bay, while the longitude of the south branch of this eastern source is due north of Apalachee Bay. These two branches run westward, north of the mountain range in which they originate, as far as Pacoa [Arkansas], where five branches of the river form three islands. From this point it flows due south to the "baya del espiritu santo." Halfway down its way to the Gulf it receives a tributary coming from the north-northwest, which in turn is represented as formed by the confluence of two rivers with their headwaters in a northern mountain range. The bay into which it empties communicates with the sea by means of a large body of water called "mar pequeña," located as on the other maps in the northwest corner of the Gulf. This representation of the Rio del Espíritu Santo can hardly be said to correspond with the known course of the Mississippi or with

the known course of any river east of it. The rivers which Biedma saw in the east are indeed subtributaries of the Mississippi, but neither he nor any other member of the expedition followed them to the main stream, for, as we saw, they left the Tennessee at Gunthersville, Alabama.

This De Soto map is a draft which Santa Cruz did not finish, or if he did, the finished copy has not come to light. It does not seem that Juan López de Velasco, his successor as cosmographo mayor, is referring to the De Soto map in his description of America, but rather to a sketchier, although later,²² map of the Southern United States which he found among the papers of Santa Cruz. This deduction is based on his description of the "Gulf of New Spain or Florida." The survivors of the De Soto expedition, he wrote, found the land of Florida fertile; they found grapes, nuts, and other fruits similar to those of Spain; there were pelts and many indications of pearls but "nobody went back to these provinces, and thus this region is not known, nor are the villages thereof, except what is represented on the sketches of Santa Cruz."²³

The specific text on which we base our deduction that López de Velasco had before him a map different from the so-called De Soto map, occurs in his detailed description of the Gulf coast line "according to the maps of Santa Cruz."

Rio y Bahía del Espíritu Santo: it comes down from latitude 37°, running east-west along this parallel from the meridian of Florida until it is due north of that bay [Bahía del Espíritu Santo], into which the river enters. The bay lies at latitude 31°, thirty leagues or more to the west of the Rio Bajo; it is a great bay into which four rivers empty; at the entrance, close to the east side, there is a small island.²⁴

Only one river empties into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the De Soto map; no island is indicated near the opening of this bay; and no latitudes are marked on this map.

Between the date when the De Soto map was made and the publication of a simplified version of it in 1584, the Luna expedition took place. The editor of the Luna papers identifies the Rio del Espíritu Santo spoken of therein as the Mississippi,²⁵ but the

²² Cf. *supra*, XXV, 195.

²³ "Y así no se tiene noticia de lo que son, ni de las poblaciones que en ella van descritas, más de la que se halla pintada en la descripción de Santa Cruz"; J. López de Velasco, *Geographia y Descripción Universal de las Indias*, 180.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 181.

²⁵ H. I. Priestley, ed., *The Luna Papers*, 2 volumes, Deland, 1938. See Index.

passages in which the name occurs hardly justify this identification. With one exception, all occurrences of the name Rio del Espíritu Santo are found in the letters of Luís de Velasco, the viceroy of New Spain. Since at this date there were certainly maps of America in Mexico City, and since Velasco knew approximately where the expedition had landed on the north coast of the Gulf, he could see by consulting any map that the Rio del Espíritu Santo was west of Pensacola, and consequently it was only natural for him to designate this river as a landmark of western explorations.²⁶ From his use of the name in these passages therefore, we have no right to conclude that "the Mississippi is clearly meant."²⁷

In one of these letters, Velasco said that horses were to be sent "provided a route be found over which it is possible to go until they strike the Rio del Espíritu Santo at a place where they can cross it."²⁸ In the editor's index "to cross" is here interpreted as meaning "to ford." This interpretation is supported by what we read in Father Dávila Padilla's book²⁹ where he, too, speaks of the Rio del Espíritu Santo as fordable. This latter passage will be given in its context so that the reader may judge whether the location or description of the Rio del Espíritu Santo by the Dominican chronicler corresponds with the Mississippi.

The survivors of the De Soto expedition had given out that the Province of Cossa, the chief village of which bore the same name, was the most fertile of all Florida. In the hope of obtaining badly needed provisions a detachment of soldiers was sent thither from Achuse. After fifty days' march, the party reached Olibahali, (Ulibahali in Ranjel, Ullibahali in Elvas), a town situated on the Tallapoosa River in Elmore County, Alabama. Sometime in July they reached Cossa or Coça, located on the Coosa River, in Talladega County, Alabama. The Indians of this village asked assistance of the Spaniards for a war expedition against the Napochies, identified by Shea as being "in all probability the Natchez,"³⁰ while Gatschet thinks they were the Napissa,³¹ "probably a Muskogean people more nearly affiliated to the Choctaw."³²

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 73, 85, 95.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, introduction, xxxii.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 65.

²⁹ A. Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la Fundación y discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico, de la Orden de Predicadores*, . . . Madrid, 1596.

³⁰ Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 258.

³¹ A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, 2 volumes, I, Philadelphia, 1884, II, St. Louis, 1888, I, 99, 112, 190.

³² F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, s. v. Napochies.

The Spaniards agreed to help the Coças [Creeks], and the expedition composed of three hundred of these Indians and fifty Spaniards left the village heading westward. After a few days' march they reached the first Napochies village, which they found empty; it had been hurriedly abandoned by its occupants. The Coças explained that the Napochies, knowing that the Spaniards had joined force with them and distrusting the security of the woods (montes), had gone off on the great water to hide themselves (se fueron a escôder en la grã agua).

When the Spaniards heard the name of "great water," they thought that it must be the sea; but it was nothing else than a great river (rio grande) which we call the [Rio] del Espiritu Santo, which rises in the great mountains of that land of Florida. It is very deep, and two musket-shots wide. At a certain place known to the Indians, the river is much wider, losing its depth, [so that] it can be forded (y podia vadearse). The Napochies of the first village had crossed it, and those of the other [Napochies] village on the bank of this river, when hearing the news [of the coming of the Coças and the Spaniards], also abandoned it, crossing the waters of Oquechiton, for thus the Indians call this river, that is to say, in our language, the great water (la grãde agua).

As Father Dávila Padilla has just said, Coças and Spaniards found the second Napochies village also empty when they arrived.

The people of both villages were on the other bank of the river, fully confident that the Spaniards had no means of crossing it; they were loud in their vociferations, and jibbed at the Coças. Their joy did not last long, for the Coças who knew the country well, found the ford of the river and entered it, the water reaching the breasts of those on foot and the saddles of those on horseback . . . When our soldiers reached the middle of the river, one of them discharged his gun, loaded with two bullets, and brought down a Napochies who was on the other bank of the river.³³

The terrified Napochies took to flight pursued by the Coças; the fugitives were finally subdued and accepted the Coças peace terms.

This done the whole expedition returned to the first Napochies village, where a garrison of Spaniards and Coças had been left. Since this village was convenient, our men rested there three days, until it seemed time to return to Coça, where 150 Spanish soldiers were waiting. The journey was short and they soon arrived there."³⁴

³³ *Historia de la Fvndacion*, 262.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 263.

According to Shea the Napochies were "a nation near Ochechiton [Oquechiton], the Espíritu Santo, or the Mississippi,"³⁵ and, as we saw, he thought the Napochies were the Natchez. In his summary of Father Dávila Padilla's narrative, Lowery says: "The Napochies were pursued to and even beyond the Oquechiton—the Mississippi River"; adding in a note the meaning of the word given by the Dominican, namely, " 'The Great Water,' the Espíritu Santo."³⁶ Father Steck combined what Shea and Lowery wrote, saying: "At the same time, a detachment of soldiers joining the friendly Coça Indians in their war with the Napochies (Natchez) actually reached and most probably also crossed the Mississippi River."³⁷ If Oquechiton is the Mississippi the Spaniards crossed it; the text of Father Dávila Padilla is quite clear in this respect: after an Indian had been shot from mid-stream, "all the Napochies took to flight, and the Coças crossed the river, keeping at fire-arm range."³⁸

Whatever the meaning of the word of "Oquechiton" may be,³⁹ this river was not the Rio del Espíritu Santo, which is located on the maps much farther west than the actual location of the Mississippi, nor was it the Mississippi, whether one considers its location or its description. The site of Coça, the starting point of the expedition against the Napochies, is known with a fair degree of accuracy. It was situated on the Coosa River in Talladega County, Alabama;⁴⁰ that is, more than 300 miles in a straight line east of the Mississippi. In one day's march, according to Father Dávila Padilla, the party covered about eight leagues,⁴¹ and it took two or three days to reach the first Napochies village from Coça. Elsewhere, the chronicler again speaks of the distance between Coça and the first Napochies village: "Era el camino breve y llegaron presto." The second Napochies village was close by the first and near Oquechiton, so that the whole distance between Coça and the "great water" was at the

³⁵ Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 258.

³⁶ Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements*, 367.

³⁷ F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition 1673*, Quincy, Illinois, 1928, 203.

³⁸ *Historia de la Fvndacion*, 263.

³⁹ "Ochechiton, like Mississippi, means great river—from *okhina*, river; *chito*, great; [Cyrus] (Byington's [An English and] Choctaw Definer, [New York, 1852], pp. 79, 97)," Shea, in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 258, note 7. Rather "great water," as Father Dávila Padilla has it, from *oka*, water, and *chito*, great, large; cf. *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language by Cyrus Byington*, edited by J. R. Swanton and H. S. Halbert, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 46, Washington, D. C., 1915, 107, 291.

⁴⁰ *Final Report*, 206.

⁴¹ *Historia de la Fvndacion*, 254.

most thirty leagues, or about one third of the distance between Coça and the Mississippi. Again, it took the Spaniards two months to cover the distance from Achuse to the Coça village, that is, it took them twenty times longer to travel over a distance shorter by fifty miles than that between Coça and the Mississippi. With regard to the description of the river, the Mississippi is not fordable anywhere near the supposed point of crossing. Father Dávila Padilla specifies the depth of the river as less than five feet; and he speaks of a soldier firing his gun while standing in the middle of the stream; but the Mississippi in that part of its course is wider than twice the range of a sixteenth-century musket. Whatever the identity of the Oquechiton may be, the evidence in Father Dávila Padilla's chronicle does not justify its identification with the Rio del Espíritu Santo which appears on contemporary maps or with the Mississippi.

A Rio del Espíritu Santo is also mentioned in the narrative of the Coronado expedition by Castañeda, whose knowledge of the geography of North America was very indefinite. It is believed, he wrote, that the Tiguex [our Rio Grande], "flows into the mighty (poderoso) Rio del Espíritu Santo which the men with Don Hernando de Soto discovered in Florida."⁴² From this and from other passages of his narrative to be quoted presently, it seems that Castañeda had, in Culiacán, where the account of the Coronado expedition is believed to have been written, some freak map of the Western hemisphere, into which he tried to fit what he learned from men who took part in De Soto's expedition. Whatever these men may have told him, we saw that neither Ranjel nor Elvas speak of the great river discovered by De Soto as the Rio del Espíritu Santo, and, we may add, Garcilaso de la Vega's informants who were also members of the De Soto expedition, call the great river Chucagua.

Castañeda speaks twice of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, and from his description some have recognized not only the Mississippi but the Missouri as well.⁴³ The following quotation, the first of the two mentions of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, will show whether Castañeda's description enables one to identify this river as the Mississippi.

The great Rio del Espíritu Santo, which Don Fernando de Soto discovered in the country of Florida flows through this country

⁴² Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, 510.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 529. "The Missouri-Mississippi" is Hodge's slightly different identification in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 365, note 2.

[Quivira]. It passes through a province called Arache, according to the reliable accounts which were obtained here [Culiacán]. The sources were not visited, because, according to what they said, it comes from a very distant country in the mountains of the South Sea [Pacific Ocean], from the part that sheds its waters onto the plains. It flows across all the level country and breaks through the mountains of the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean], and comes out where the people with Don Fernando de Soto navigated it. This is more than 300 leagues from where it enters the sea. On account of this, and also because it has large tributaries, it is so mighty when it enters the sea that they lost sight of the land before the water ceased to be fresh.⁴⁴

The "mountains of the North Sea" is the mountain range which geographers imagined ran east-west along the thirty-fifth parallel. On no map is there a river shown breaking through this range, for Florida is always represented as a closed amphitheater, and the Mississippi does not break through mountains at the point where De Soto and his men saw it.

The next time the Rio del Espíritu Santo is mentioned in the narrative of the Coronado expedition, Castañeda speaks of it as follows:

It is, I think, already understood that the Portuguese, Campo, was the soldier who escaped when Fray Juan de Padilla was killed at Quivira, and that he finally reached New Spain from Pánuco, having traveled across the plains country until he came to cross the North Sea mountain chain, keeping the country that Don Hernando de Soto discovered all the time on his left hand, since he did not see the Rio del Espíritu Santo at all. After he crossed the North Sea mountains he found he was in Pánuco, so that if he had not tried to go to the North Sea, he could have come out in the neighborhood of the borderland, or the country of the Sacatecas, of which we now have some knowledge.⁴⁵

Castañeda introduces the above quotation with the words: "I very much wish that I possessed some knowledge of cosmography and geography so as to render what I wish to say intelligible." This is also our wish; for when we consider the actual geography of the country described, and when we compare what he is saying here with what he says in the preceding quotation, his geographical digression is quite unintelligible.

As was said above, a version of the De Soto map was published in 1584.⁴⁶ It is this simplified variant which was to influ-

⁴⁴ Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, 529.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 544.

⁴⁶ It was published simultaneously in A. Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1584, and in the *Additamentum III Theatri Orbis Terra-*

ence mapmakers for the next forty years, for the map of Santa Cruz did not come to light until the nineteenth century. The author of the map of Florida which was published in 1584 is Hierónymo,⁴⁷ the son of the royal cosmographer Alonso de Chaves, but it is impossible to determine in what year it was made. All that can be said is that it is prior to 1574, the year of Hierónymo de Chaves' death. It is not likely that the manuscript was in Ortelius' possession much before 1584, because this map is not found in the Second Supplement published in 1580⁴⁸ in which there are three special maps of North America not found in the earlier editions of the *Theatrum*. There is no doubt, however, that this published map of Florida is a simplified version of a variant of a map similar to that of Santa Cruz illustrating the discoveries of De Soto in the Southern United States.

A comparison between the nomenclature and the hydrography on the two maps yields interesting data. On the De Soto map there are three times—sixty-six—as many place-names as on the Chaves map of Florida,—twenty-two. The nomenclature coincides on both maps, except that Chaves has three place-names that are not on the manuscript map, although they are mentioned by the chroniclers: Catilachegue, Achusi, and Chililano. The first is a variant of Cofitacheque (Ranjel), Cofitachique (Biedma), Cutifachiqui (Elvas). The fantastic spelling of Indian names by Spanish writers would be reason enough for the

rum, Antwerp, 1584. The map of Florida in the 1579 edition of the *Theatrum* in the Library of Congress is one of the twenty maps bound in at a later date with the 93 maps which made up the original 1579 edition; cf. P. L. Phillips, *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress*, Washington, D. C., 1909, n. 386, and the note of Ortelius on the title page of the *Additamentum III*.

⁴⁷ On Hierónymo or Gerónimo de Chaves, cf. M. Fernández de Navarrete, *Biblioteca Marítima Española*, 2 volumes, Madrid, 1851, I, 563-565. L. Bagrow, *Petermans Mitteilungen*, XLIII, 1928, 55-56, summarized Navarrete.

⁴⁸ The name of the Spanish cartographer is listed thus in the catalogue of authors in the first edition of the *Theatrum*: "Hieronymus Chiauez, American descriptit quae nondum in lucem prodit." The Latin edition of 1573, Ortelius added to this notice: "Idem Conuentum Hispalensem." These words are repeated in the other editions until that of 1579, where we read: "Hieronymus Chiauez, Americam descriptit, quae nondum in lucem prodit. Idem Conuentum Hispalensem, quem iam in hoc Theatro in lucem damus." This is a map of Seville and the adjacent territory. This notice was not changed in the subsequent editions of the *Theatrum*; Ortelius does not mention the fact that he included Chaves' map of Florida in the edition of 1584. The words "Americam descriptit" more probably refer to a map. Fernandez de Navarrete, *Biblioteca Marítima*, I, 565, says that among the papers of Chaves are "(1) Mapa del territorio de Sevilla, que puso A. Ortelius en su Teatro," this is the Conuentus Hispalensis; "(2) Otro de las Indias Occidentales, que estaba inédito en la librería del conde de Villumbrosa; (y hay copia en el Depósito hidrografico en Madrid, tom. 17 de Mss)." I have not seen this map.

difference between Catilachegue and the three variants. In the present case, matters were made still worse by the fact that the draughtsman and the engraver, both Dutch, copied an outlandish name from a map made by a Spaniard. Achusi, the second name omitted by Santa Cruz but inserted by Chaves in his map, is clearly Ranjel's Achuse, Elvas's Ochus. As we have seen, Biedma does not give this name of the port where Maldonado went, but later in the narrative, he speaks of the Bay of Chuse, a variant of Achuse. The third place-name occurs only in the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas. Whether it was also in Ranjel's account cannot be known, for his report in Oviedo breaks off at the beginning of November 1541,⁴⁹ and Chillano was discovered more than a year later, at the end of November 1542.

Before drawing conclusions from the differences in nomenclature on the two maps, it is necessary to recall certain previously indicated facts or deductions. First, the Biedma account is a short report seemingly based on a diary or field notes accessible to the geographers of the Casa, who made use of the information contained therein when drawing their maps. Secondly, the fact that some place-names are found in the narratives and not on the Santa Cruz map is due to the state of the map, which is obviously an unfinished draft. Thus, the place-names in the east are much fewer than in the west, and the map has the sites of sixteen villages marked but left nameless. Finally, even if we had not the testimony of López de Velasco that there was at least another map of the Southern United States by Santa Cruz, it is quite unlikely that only one map illustrating the De Soto expedition was made in Seville, and still more unlikely that this unique map would be precisely the one which has come down to us.

The reports handed to the Casa de la Contratación were available to all the members of the geographical department; all had access to the padrón; all could easily know the maps made by their colleagues. Now, Hierónimo de Chaves was one of the cosmographers of the Casa. As a basis for his map of Florida, he made use for the coast line of a map slightly different from that of Santa Cruz and more closely related to the map of 1536 made by his father, filling the interior with place-names first made known by the survivors of the De Soto expedition. In the present case, according to our hypothesis, he used the names

⁴⁹ Chapter XXVIII in Oviedo is incomplete. Chapter XXIX began with the narrative of the death of De Soto, which occurred nearly seven months after the last date mentioned in Chapter XXVIII.

which he read in Biedma's diary or field notes. Considering that the Santa Cruz map is an unfinished draft, and that there are on the printed map three place-names which are not on the extant manuscript map of the De Soto expedition, we conclude that the nomenclature of the lost Chaves original was very probably much fuller. It is very unlikely that Chaves himself selected from the many towns and villages those which appear on the printed map. The selection was more probably made by the draughtsman or by the engraver; for the exigencies of space determined the number of place-names on this map, as in the case of the simplified version of Mercator's planisphere of 1569 in Ortelius' atlas of 1570.

Even more pertinent to our inquiry than this comparison of the inland nomenclature on the two maps is the hydrography of the Southern United States as represented on both of them. The Chaves map of the Gulf Coast, as we just noted, was different from that used by Santa Cruz, and attention has already been called to the fact that the course of the rivers on the De Soto map was conjectural and that their names were determined by the names inscribed near the mouth on the coastal map used as a basis. Three examples taken from the map of Santa Cruz and from that of Chaves may serve to illustrate these points.

Since no authentic Santa Cruz map contains the Rio Escondido, which empties into the Gulf on the Texas Coast, the course of a river of that name is not shown on the De Soto map. On the other hand, maps made by other cartographers of the Casa show the mouth of the Rio Escondido in the Texas region; consequently Chaves, who used a coastal map different from that used by Santa Cruz, drew the course of this river along latitude $27^{\circ} 30'$, that is, just south of Corpus Christi Pass. Where this Rio Escondido had its headwaters cannot be known because the border of the map cuts it short 170 miles from the sea.

The second example is more striking. On the Chaves map, east of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, there is a giant river, Rio de Cañaveral, running parallel to it for nearly 500 miles, from latitude $37^{\circ} 30'$, *i. e.*, half a degree north of the mouth of the Ohio, where it branches off a large river coming from the east. The latter, at this point, flows to the southwest, emptying into the Rio del Espíritu Santo at latitude 35° . As in the case of the Rio Escondido, the Rio de Cañaveral never appears on Santa Cruz maps. On the De Soto map, next to the Rio del Espíritu Santo is a short Rio Baxo rising in the foothills of a mountain near Quigualta. Now there is no Rio Baxo on the Chaves map, and

there is no Rio de Cañaval on the Santa Cruz map. On the latter, the next river east of the Rio Baxo is legended Rio de los Angeles, but there is no trace of such a river on the Chaves map.

The third example, showing how unreliable is the inland hydrography, is that of a large river which, on the De Soto map, divides itself into two branches, one emptying into Apalachee Bay, the other into the Atlantic at latitude 31° , both nameless. On the Chaves map, there is also such a river, but the mouth of each branch is on the Atlantic Coast, and the southern branch is legended Rio Seco, a name inscribed near an indentation of the coast on earlier maps.

These inconsistencies are here pointed out not to belittle the cartographical work of the geographers of the Casa, but because they show that the inland hydrography which appears on these maps is conjectural, depending largely on the coastal map used as a basis, and therefore all attempts to identify rivers from their length, the direction of their course, their position, or their name on these maps must necessarily be futile.

With regard to ascertaining the modern equivalent of the position of certain landmarks on these two maps the following is to be said. Neither latitudes nor longitudes are marked on the De Soto map, and no scale is given. We can, however, roughly calculate the positions by using as a scale the Floridan peninsula, the length of which on all the early maps is five degrees of latitude or about 350 miles. According to this scale, the position of the mouth of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is nowhere near that of the mouth of the Mississippi, for the opening of the Mar pequeña—the mouth of the Rio del Espíritu Santo—would be located on a modern map, near Austin, Texas. If we were to convert this distance into degrees, taking as a basis the meridian that grazes the east coast of Florida, the mouth of the Rio del Espíritu Santo would be located on a modern map in the vicinity of Galveston Bay; and if we take into consideration the length of a degree of longitude along the thirtieth parallel, the mouth of the “Mississippi” would again have to be located in the vicinity of Austin, Texas. By the same method, the westernmost town Nequateix, should be placed in Otero County, New Mexico.

On the Chaves map, the longitudes and latitudes are marked. The opening of the Mar pequeña is thirteen degrees west of the basic eastern Floridan meridian, or in the vicinity of Cameron, Louisiana. This more easterly position, at variance with that found by previous computations, is due to the fact that on this map one degree of longitude is equal to one degree of latitude.

If the mapmaker had observed the correct relation between one degree of longitude and one degree of latitude along the thirtieth parallel, the position of the mouth of the Rio del Espíritu Santo would have been, as on the majority of maps, near Galveston Bay. By the first of these two methods of conversion the northernmost point of the Rio del Cañaveral would be located, on a modern map, in Laclede County, Missouri; by the second method, in Wilson County, southeastern Kansas. Naguater, Neguateix of the De Soto map, would have to be placed either in Graham County, Kansas, or in Park County, southwest of Denver, Colorado, according to which method of conversion was used.

The importance of the Chaves map comes from the great influence it had on subsequent mapmakers, who for forty years after its publication widely imitated or copied outright this new geographical conception of the Southern United States. As such it is a landmark of the cartographical history of the country north of the Gulf of Mexico, and is the type of the third group of maps studied in this essay. Credit for this new geographical conception has thus far been given to Cornelius Wytfliett. The latter's map of Florida, however, did not appear until thirteen years after the publication of the Chaves map by Ortelius, and for all that pertains to the hydrography and nomenclature of the interior it is simply a slavish imitation of the earlier one by the Spanish cartographer. We may note here that on other copies than Wytfliett's the number of place-names along the Gulf Coast and in the interior is greater than on the model because the draughtsman or the engraver wished to "complete" the Chaves coastal or inland nomenclature with names from other published maps.

When we say that the Chaves map was widely imitated by mapmakers for forty years after its publication in 1584, we do not mean that this geographical conception was thereafter discarded, for, as can be seen from the dates of the maps listed below, the Chaves model was still used as late as 1670. In 1625, however, a new type of map of the Southern United States appeared. Just as maps of the first group were still made long after a new type had appeared in print, so maps belonging to the second group are found after the publication of the Chaves map, and maps of the third group, after De Laet's map of Florida of 1625. The selection of a particular type often depended on the fancy of the mapmaker, more often on those maps or atlases he happened to have at hand.

The series of maps based on Chaves' may be divided into two classes: the first class comprising maps which reproduce the model with slight alterations, the second including those on which the Chaves' hydrography and nomenclature had to be simplified because of exigencies of space. Since many mapmakers superimposed the Chaves Florida map on Mercator's planisphere of 1569, the nomenclature of this latter is generally found on maps of this group, except some regional maps of the Southern United States.

The map of the Western hemisphere by Mazza belongs to the first class of the third group.⁵⁰ Mazza superimposed the inland hydrography and the nomenclature of Chaves' Florida map on the map of the Americas in Ortelius' atlas of 1570.⁵¹ The Southern United States on Plancius' World map of 1592,⁵² and the map of North America by Cornelius De Jode published the following year,⁵³ are nothing else than the Chaves map of Florida superimposed on the southeast section of Mercator's planisphere of 1569. The reason for the changes in coastal nomenclature has been given above; the change of position of towns in the interior is arbitrary and should be attributed to the draughtsman or to the engraver. As we have already noted, the Wytfliet Florida map of 1597 is a copy of that of Chaves;⁵⁴ one Indian village is omitted; and Matal's map of Florida⁵⁵ is a copy of that of Wytfliet.

The following geographers, mapmakers, engravers, or map publishers transposed the hydrography and the nomenclature of Chaves' map of Florida on their own representations of the world, of the Western hemisphere or of North America: M. Tat-

⁵⁰ *Americae et Proximar[um] Regionum Orae Descriptio*, in *Remarkable Maps*, I, 12; in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 29. It is dated "ca. 1583" in the first, and 1584, in the second of these two compilations. It is certain, however, that the map is posterior to the *Theatrum* of 1584.

⁵¹ *Americae sive Novi Orbis Nova Descriptio*, in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1570. Bibliography in Lowery, *Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions*, 74-76.

⁵² Full size reproduction in F. C. Wieder, *Monumenta Cartographica*, 5 volumes, The Hague, 1925-1933, II. Cf. E. Heawood, *The Map of the World on Mercator's Projection by Jodocus Hondius Amsterdam 1608*, London, 1927, 2. Wieder's comments on the geography of New France and Florida as represented on this map, text, p. 31 b, are not very helpful.

⁵³ *Americae Pars Borealis, Florida, Baccalaos, Canada, Corterealis*. A Cornelio de Judaëis in lucē edita, in *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*, [Antwerp], 1593. Cf. F. Van Ortoy, *L'oeuvre cartographique de Gérard et de Corneille de Jode*, Ghent, 1914, 33.

⁵⁴ *Florida et Apalche*, in *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae Augmentum*, Louvain, 1597, between pp. 176-177. There is a good reproduction of the region north of the Tropic of Cancer in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 281.

⁵⁵ *Florida et Apalche*, in *Speculum Orbis Terrae*, Cologne, 1600-1602.

ton on his map of New Spain;⁵⁶ William Blaeu on the World map of 1605;⁵⁷ and on the map of America in the atlas of 1663;⁵⁸ Jodocus Hondius on the world maps of 1608 and 1611,⁵⁹ and on the maps of the Americas in the various editions of the larger Mercator atlas;⁶⁰ on the maps of Van den Keere,⁶¹ Merian,⁶² Hoeius,⁶³ Heylin,⁶⁴ Ogilby,⁶⁵ et cetera.

The following maps belong to the second class of the third group: Plancius' globe of 1594,⁶⁶ De Bry's Western hemisphere,⁶⁷ Hondius' planisphere known as "The Christian Knight" map,⁶⁸ the Plancius-Vrient mappamundi of 1599;⁶⁹ the Western hemisphere in the various editions of the smaller Mercator-Hondius

⁵⁶ Noua et rece Terra[r]um et regnorum . . . uná cum exacta absolutaq[ue] orarum sinus Mexicani . . . delineatio á M. Tattonus . . . edita, the name of the engraver, Benjamin Wright, and the date, 1600, are in the upper right hand corner cartouche. See Lowery, *Descriptive List of Maps*, 118-119. The map is reproduced in I. B. Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico 1535-1847*, Boston and New York, 1911, 370, map VI.

⁵⁷ Nova Universi Terrarum Orbis Mappa . . . duobus planispheris graphicè depicta à Guliel. Janssonio Alcmár [Blaeu], facsimile reproduction published by E. L. Stevenson, under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1914. Cf. also John Blaeu's Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula, in Wiedner, *Monumenta Cartographica*, III.

⁵⁸ *Le Grand atlas ov Cosmographie Blaviane*, vol. XII, Amstérdam, 1663.

⁵⁹ Nova et Exacta Totius Orbis Terrarum Descriptio Geographica et Hydrographica. Auct. I. Hondio, (1608), reproduced in E. Heawood, *The Map of the World . . . by Jodocus Hondius*, London, 1927. Novissima ac Exactissima Totius Orbis Terrarum Descriptio Magna . . . Auct. J. Hondio, (1611), reproduced in E. L. Stevenson and J. Fischer, eds., *Map of the World by Jodocus Hondius*, New York, 1907.

⁶⁰ America, in *Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mvndi et Fabricati Figvra*, Amsterdam, 1611⁴.

⁶¹ Americae Nova Descriptio, in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 56.

⁶² America noviter delineata. M. Merian fecit, cf. Lowery, *Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions*, 142.

⁶³ Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica ac Hydrographica Descriptio, Ex optimis . . . Tabulis desumpta á Franciscus Hoeius, reproduced from Alldard's edition in *Remarkable Maps*, I, 7-8.

⁶⁴ Americae nova descriptio, in P. Heylin, *Cosmographie, The Fourth Book. Part II . . . containing the Chorography and History of America*, London, 1668. The map is dated 1663.

⁶⁵ Novissima et Accuratissima Totius Americae Descriptio per Johannem Ogilium Cosmographum Regium, in *America: being the latest and most accurate Description of the Nevv VWorld*, London, 1671.

⁶⁶ Orbis Terrarum Typus de Integro Multis in Locis emendatus. Auctore Petro Plancio, in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 37, and in R. Hakluyt's *Principal navigations*, London, IX, 1904, 474.

⁶⁷ America sive novvs orbis respectu Europearum Inferior Globi Terrestri Pars, in Theod. De Bry, *Americae Pars VI*, Frankfurt, 1596. Reproduced in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 40; the section north of the Equator in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, facing p. 393.

⁶⁸ Typus Totius Orbis Terrarum . . . , reproduced, reduced size, in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 47.

⁶⁹ Orbis Terrae Compendiosa Descriptio . . . , in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 48.

atlas;⁷⁰ the Goos gores of 1621;⁷¹ Danckert's mappamundi of 1640,⁷² et cetera.

It is clear that none of this cartographical evidence tends to show that the Rio del Espíritu Santo was the Mississippi, for all these mapmakers merely copied Chaves' map on which, as we have seen, the Rio del Espíritu Santo certainly does not represent the Mississippi. Of course the name of the river was "kept alive" by these geographers but this fact is of no consequence to our question. The Mercators, the Hondiuses, the Blaeus of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries compiled their maps from those already on the market, and did not "recognize" the Rio del Espíritu Santo as the greatest of all the rivers emptying into the Gulf of Mexico; for, as their maps clearly show, they could not decide whether the eastern headwaters of the network of the Floridan rivers were those of the Rio del Espíritu Santo or those of the Rio de Cañaveral.

(To be continued)

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⁷⁰ *Americae Descript[io]*, in *Atlas Minor Gerardi Mercatoris á I. Hondio plurimis aeneis tabulis auctus atque illustratus*, Amsterdam, 1607.

⁷¹ In *Remarkable Maps*, I, 9. The cartouche which was to contain the title is blank.

⁷² *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula Auctore D. D.*, in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 74.

Midwest Centennials: An Editorial

On November 28, 1843, Pope Gregory XVI erected the Catholic dioceses of Hartford, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Little Rock. A few months before Pittsburgh had been designated as an episcopal see. In 1943 these five dioceses looked back upon their century of progress and commemorated the centenary of their foundations. The historian now makes record of the religious celebrations. He rejoices in the prospect of one hundred years of remarkable development. He joins with those of all walks of life in expressing felicitations to the administrators of these sees on the achievements of the century and wishes them continued success in the future. As historian he hopes for a revival of interest on the part of Catholic clergy and laity in studies of missionaries, pioneers, founders, and builders of these great archdioceses and dioceses.

The celebrations during November of last year in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Little Rock were of deep historical interest. Files were culled for pictures and biographies of early churchmen, for descriptions of historical events, for pictures of memorable sites and buildings. Many of these findings were published in the press of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Arkansas. Most noteworthy was the special Centennial Section of the *New World*, Chicago's official Catholic paper. Popular historical articles, essays, addresses, and sermons abounded during the weeks of celebration. From the viewpoint of historiography the best monument to the occasion thus far published is the volume by Reverend Peter Leo Johnson, entitled *Centennial Essays for the Milwaukee Archdiocese 1843-1943*. In a concise Foreword to this collection Most Reverend Moses E. Kiley, D. D., Archbishop of Milwaukee, expresses the keynote for the successful growth and present health of his Archdiocese, which might easily be applied to the other sees. Under the guidance of Most Reverend Samuel Alphonsus Stritch, D. D., Fourth Archbishop of Chicago, the highly significant volume, *Principles for Peace*, edited by Reverend Harry C. Koenig, now stands as a centennial monument and a timely contribution in the present world crisis.

John Martin Henni, the first bishop of Milwaukee, arrived at his headquarters May 4, 1844. His jurisdiction extended to the whole State of Wisconsin, which at the time had more Catholics

in proportion to its population than any state in the Union. A number of churches had already been built, chiefly through the untiring activity of Father Martin Kundig. Several thousand parishioners lived in the vicinity of Milwaukee. Since then the growth has been steady and sturdy. Increases in population and great distances made necessary in time a division of Bishop Henni's jurisdiction into a number of dioceses. The Catholic population of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee alone now is 433,000; the total number of clergy is 845. The progress of education, of social and religious organizations has been equally great.

The first prelate for Chicago, Bishop William Joseph Quarter, did not arrive there until May 5, 1845. His bishopric was the entire State of Illinois. He had twenty-two priests to care for the vast area. Chicago had a population of six thousand when it became a see. There were sixty thousand Catholics in all Illinois. The Archdiocese of Chicago was created on September 10, 1880. Its limits had been narrowed to eighteen counties in the north of Illinois. More than two hundred diocesan priests served in the parishes at the time. At present the archdiocese has been narrowed to six counties, about 3,620 square miles. There are four other dioceses in the State of Illinois. The Archdiocese of Chicago is among the largest in the Western Hemisphere. It has now 1,598,900 Catholics, whereas there were in 1843 only 400 in Chicago. It has over 1,000 diocesan priests and nearly 900 priests of religious orders in its service. From one church in the city in 1843 the number has grown to 265. Under archdiocesan auspices eight colleges and universities, eighty-nine high schools for boys and girls, and fourteen seminaries have been erected to fill the educational needs beyond the parochial schools. Many hospitals and institutions take care of the corporal and spiritual concerns of the large Catholic flock.

Truly, the expansion of Chicago and Milwaukee and the expansion of the Church in the metropolitan areas can be amply attested by these statistics. Yet, as one pressman remarked, "We cannot mathematically measure the service of the Church to Chicago in the hundred years past, but we can and do count it as something without which this city could never have grown great." The same statement might be applied also to the other dioceses which had their beginning in 1843.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Book Reviews

An Introduction to Sino-Foreign Relations. By Shuhsi Hsu, Ph. D. Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai. Pp. 165.

Japan and the Third Powers. By Shuhsi Hsu, Ph. D. Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai. Pp. 240.

Free China's New Deal. By Hubert Freyn, M. A. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1943. Pp. xviii, 277.

These three volumes deal respectively with the origin of China's relations with the outside world; with the relations of present-day Japan to China and to nations friendly to China; and with the industrial and agricultural resources in general of present-day China. The first two books, written by a Chinese authority, will help the average reader acquire the information necessary to understand the reason for the Sino-Japanese conflict; the third one, written by a Czechoslovakian resident in China during the decade of the 1930's, will give one a good understanding as to how powerful China may become in world affairs when her resources are developed commercially.

Dr. Hsu, in dealing with the earlier contacts of China and the outside world, under the chapter heading, "The Treaty Regime," writes very objectively. Even when dealing with the settlement England made with China in 1842-1843, following the so-called Opium War, the author writes simply that "When the Nanking treaty and its supplement came to be concluded in 1842-3 its plenipotentiaries demanded and secured from the Chinese commissioners not only the original terms but also the concessions designed as an alternative to one of them" (p. 37). Many non-Chinese critics of this settlement, which showed no respect for Chinese sovereignty, have been not nearly so restrained.

The volume dealing professedly with Japan traces with considerable care the developments since Japan began to close the "Open Door" in the period 1937-1938. Direct statements from Chinese and Japanese sources make the book's summaries and conclusions understandable and reasonable. The chapter "Showing What Japanese Sway Means" makes clear the horrors and injustices associated with the control of Chinese areas by Japan. The reasons why the Japanese cannot reasonably hope for any sort of Chinese acceptance of Japanese domination are made crystal clear.

The treatment of *Free China's New Deal* by Hubert Freyn is predominantly factual and statistical. The changes that have been necessitated by years of warfare are analyzed. Thorough and painstaking research in Chinese sources preceded the writing of every one of the book's twenty-four chapters. A wealth of information on Chinese

affairs will be found in such chapters as "Industrial Development," "Foreign Trade," "The Land Problem," and "Price Movements and Living Standards." The difficulty of solving Chinese problems is increased, as everyone well knows, by the great differences in population density, ranging from 3,000 per square mile in parts of Kwangtung province to 4 per square mile in Chinese Turkestan. Mr. Freyn deals clearly with the efforts that China is making, even in the turmoil of war, to raise the level of production and living standards in general. Admittedly, it will be a rather long and difficult undertaking, but that it is at least possible this book seems to prove. Many tables of figures supplement the text. The volume will certainly serve to make China mean more than a mere geographical term to anyone who will read it.

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Centennial Essays for the Milwaukee Archdiocese 1843-1943. By Rev. Peter Leo Johnson, D. D. The Centennial Committee, Milwaukee, 1943. Pp. vii, 177. Illustrated.

These essays arranged in fourteen chapter heads are a noteworthy contribution to the growing list of volumes covering the history of individual dioceses in the United States. They are not intended to be a comprehensive account of the development of Catholicity in Milwaukee and its environs, but they do give a rather complete picture of the origins of the Church and its administrative center. The Introduction by The Most Reverend Moses E. Kiley describes the spiritual motivation behind the builders of the Archdiocese. Several essays are devoted to the accomplishments of Father Kundig in erecting churches and in advertising Wisconsin's beautiful lands and bountiful possibilities. A chapter describes in a most interesting fashion the character of the first bishop, John Martin Henni, who laid wide foundations for future growth during his long episcopate from 1844 to 1881. Especially to be noted is Bishop Henni's "Creed for Citizenship," about the publication of which there seems to have been some difficulty (pages 57 and 58). The building and rebuilding of St. John's Cathedral is described in a chapter, while the remaining six chapters describe at length the history of St. Francis Seminary and educational foundations.

This publication comes as a contribution to the celebration of the centennial of the foundation of diocesan administration in Wisconsin. It is very readable, and worth-while reading. Twenty pages of excellent photographs appear in the center of the volume. It is hoped that Dr. Johnson will soon have prepared the larger history of the Archdiocese, toward which these *Essays* point invitingly.

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Claude Dablon, S.J. (1619-1697)

The late Father Melançon's list of the Jesuit missionaries who came to New France and Louisiana between 1611 and 1757 contains the names of 336 priests, scholastics, and lay brothers, including 106 who were in what is today the United States. Many of these latter played an active part in the early history of this country when the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes region were French territory, and are intimately linked with the evangelization, exploration, or colonization of this section of the French Empire in North America. For this reason the names of some are well known throughout the country, or at least have been perpetuated in the region in which they were most active. Others are quite unknown, either because they have left no writings, or because their activities were confined to the house in which they lived, as in the case of the lay brothers.

Because of their importance in the early history of the Great Lakes region and of the Mississippi Valley, it has seemed that a biographical dictionary of these hundred men would be of service to students of this period. The condition for inclusion is that the missionary must, at one time or another, have set foot in the present-day United States, even if only temporarily. Father Raymbault, for instance, would be included because, in 1641, he came with Father Jogues to Sault Ste. Marie; Charlevoix would be mentioned because of his voyage down the Mississippi; Father de la Bretonnière because he accompanied the Canadian Indians as chaplain in the 1739-1740 expedition against the Chickasaw; and Father de Bonnecamps because of his survey of the Ohio.

The names of some of these men already appear in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, but in such a general work, the space that can be allotted to each is necessarily limited, whereas

in a specialized dictionary fuller details can be given, disputed questions considered, and moot points discussed. Moreover, although most of the articles in the above-mentioned work were written by specialists, they were very often compiled from secondary sources. In gathering the materials for the projected dictionary, we have endeavored to make a critical use of primary sources whether published or in manuscript.

The following pages, which comprise the article on Father Dablon, are here published as a specimen entry. As in the case of the studies on Jolliet¹ and on Cadillac,² the publication of the complete dictionary cannot be expected until the end of the war.

* * * * *

Claude Dablon³ was born at Dieppe, January 21, 1619.⁴ He began his novitiate at Paris September 17, 1639; and two years later was sent to La Flèche where he remained studying and teaching until 1653. The scholastic year 1653-1654, which was spent at Eu,⁵ was his last year in France. On September 19, 1655, having "recently arrived"⁶ in Quebec, he was sent to the Iroquois country with Father Chaumonot. On his way to this mission under date of October 9, 1655, Father Dablon wrote the earliest extant⁷ of his numerous letters which contain valuable informa-

¹ "El Rio del Espiritu Santo," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 189.

² "Cadillac's Early Years in America," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 3.

³ His name is sometimes written "d'Ablon"; he himself always signed "Dablon." A "Maistre Simon Dablon, syndic de la ville de Dieppe," was one of the Hundred Associates; *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, 4 vols., Quebec, 1883-1885, I, 84; but we do not know whether the missionary and the syndic were related.

⁴ Besides this date, an earlier one, February 1618, is also found; cf. C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, 3 vols., Paris, 1895-1896, II, 144, note 1; this is repeated by [A. Melançon], *Liste des Missionnaires-Jésuites, Nouvelle-France et Louisiane, 1611-1800*, Montreal, 1929, s. v. Dablon. The compiler of the list in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 71:123, has both dates, but *ibid.*, 148, only June, i. e., January 21, 1619, is given. According to the census of 1681, which in Quebec was taken after April 8, he is said to be 62 years old; B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, 8 vols., Montreal, 1882-1884, V, 53; but in the census of 1667 his age is given as 50, *ibid.*, IV, 65. The age in these nominal censuses is often approximate, or quite erroneous; cf. E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), IX, Albany, 1855, 668, where the editor points out that in the census of 1681 Jolliet is said to be six years older than he was.

⁵ Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, II, 144, note 1.

⁶ JR, 42:57; *Lettres de la Venerable Mere Marie de l'Incarnation première Supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1681, letter lii, to her son, October 12, 1655, 521. The exact date of his arrival is not known, for the Jesuit catalogue for this year is missing, and the copy book of the *Journal des Jésuites*, C. H. Laverdière and H. R. Casgrain, eds., Montreal, 1892, 195, which contained the entries from February 1654 to November 24, 1656, is lost.

⁷ JR, 41:226.

tion about the next forty years of Jesuit activity in North America. The worth of this first letter and of the journal which Dablon kept during his sojourn in the Iroquois country is indicated by the following comment of Father De Quen, superior at Quebec, who forwarded to France the Relation of 1655-1656: "I cannot give a more faithful account of their voyage, and of the fruits which God has reaped therefrom, than by transcribing the journal sent to us by Father Dablon."⁸

In this journal we have the reaction of a keen observer who could express himself with the unusual clarity, of an educated Frenchman, fresh from civilization, brought into abrupt contact with the Indians. This day by day account of his journey from Quebec to the Iroquois country, and of his sojourn there until the following year is characteristic of his style, which like his handwriting underwent little change during the next forty years. Among the many pen pictures in this first journal, which give evidence that he was a born writer, those in Chapter IX are the most remarkable, and the description of the antics of the brother of the missionaries' host would not be out of place in an anthology of seventeenth-century French prose.⁹

The journal also reveals the personality of its author. Dablon was disinterested and self-effacing, always ready to give credit to his brethren. According to him, his companion, Father Chaumonot, who spoke Huron and Iroquois as well as the Indian themselves,¹⁰ was doing all the haranguing, evangelizing, and baptizing.¹¹ We learn, however, from Chaumonot that Dablon himself was by no means idle. In his youth he had learned how to play several instruments, "which he played very well" and which he "brought along to the Iroquois country." The Indians crowded the bark hut in which the missionaries lived, to hear Dablon "make the wood talk";¹² and Chaumonot seized the opportunity of addressing the gathering of fierce Iroquois who were attracted and tamed by the black-robed Orpheus.

After spending this winter in the Onondaga villages, Dablon

⁸ JR, 42:58.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 160.

¹⁰ JR, 21:188; 42:86; 43:168; *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter lxx, to her son, July 28, 1665, 601; *La Vie du R. P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot, . . . Ecrite par lui-même . . . , l'an 1688*, J. G. Shea, ed., New York, 1858, 60-61; *Suite de la vie du R. P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot, De la Compagnie de Jesus, Par un Père de la même Compagnie . . .*, J. G. Shea, ed., New York, 1858, 15; *Lettre circulaire du R. P. Chaumonot au P. P[rovinci]al*, February 28, 1693, BN, Mss. fr. 6452:10v.

¹¹ JR, 42:84 ff.

¹² *La Vie du R. P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot*, 67. Dablon, however, had not a pleasing voice, *Journal des Jésuites*, 294.

journeyed back to Quebec the following spring to notify the civil authorities that the Onondaga had threatened to break all relations with the French unless the latter would at once begin a settlement near those villages as they had long since promised to do.¹³ Over melting ice and softening snowfields, it took the missionary twenty-eight days to go from the Onondaga villages to Montreal, a journey which for endurance and determination compares favorably with other highly touted treks in North America.

When he arrived in Quebec at the beginning of April,¹⁴ he found that both the governor and the Jesuits were unfavorable to his request, owing to their distrust of the Iroquois, for the Mohawks had been raiding Lower Canada uninterruptedly.¹⁵ It seems that Dablon's eloquence and enthusiasm played no small part¹⁶ in winning over both civil and religious authorities and in making them accede to the request of the Onondaga for French settlers and missionaries.¹⁷ The whole party numbering some fifty men,¹⁸ among whom were four Jesuit priests and two brothers,¹⁹ reached Lake Onondaga, July 11, 1656,²⁰ where a mission under the title of Ste. Marie was begun.²¹ From this place Father Dablon wrote his earliest extant manuscript letter to the General of the Order.²² As is well known, this missionary enterprise was short-lived.²³ Two years later the French, having learned that the Indians planned a general massacre, left the fort by night and safely reached Canada in April 1658.²⁴ On September 1 of that year, Dablon wrote to the General of the Jesuits telling him of the abandonment of the Ste. Marie mis-

¹³ JR, 42:200 ff.

¹⁴ JR, 44:184. He reached Montreal, March 30, 1656, JR, 42:214. "Le Reverend Pere Dablon [and some Onondaga Indians] arriverent ici [Quebec] au temps de la passion," that is, between April 3 and April 8; in 1656, Easter Sunday fell on April 16, *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter liv, to her son, August 14, 1656, 530.

¹⁵ JR, 43:104 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 128, 130 ff.; 44:62 ff.

¹⁸ JR, 42:215; 43:132; *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter liv, to her son, August 14, 1656, 530. Dablon in his letter to the General of the Jesuits, Father Goswin Nickel, *infra*, wrote: "Galli 50 numero et amplius huc appulimus."

¹⁹ JR, 42:214; 43:132. Marie de l'Incarnation says three brothers.

²⁰ JR, 43:150.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 180.

²² Dablon to Goswin Nickel, Ad Sanctam Mariam Inter Iroquaeos, 28 Augusti, 1656, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 109, I, 290.

²³ Cf. T. F. O'Connor, "The Onondaga Mission," *MID-AMERICA*, XVII, 1935, 10-29.

²⁴ JR, 44:148 ff.

sion.²⁵ In this, as in his earlier writings, the missionary has nothing but praise for the zeal and devotion of his brethren.

The laudatory nature of all his letters is so evident that later historians have felt the need of justifying it. Apropos of a letter written in 1674,²⁶ when Dablon was superior general of the Jesuit missions in New France and rector of the college of Quebec, Father Martin notes:

This letter may seem to some readers only a continual panegyric on the missionaries of New France. But it should be observed that this document was not intended for publication, and that it was a confidential communication from a superior who, according to the dictates of his conscience, was rendering to his higher superior [the provincial in Paris] an account of the missionaries under his direction. It should also be known that efforts had been made to traduce these apostolic men not only to the ministers of Louis XIV but even to their own provincial and to Father Ferrier, the king's confessor. Father Dablon, then, was discharging one of the duties of his office in establishing the truth.²⁷

The full explanation of his continual "panegyrics" is to be found in Dablon's whole character, rather than in a mere sense of duty or in the need of defending his missionaries against false charges. The letters which he wrote before and after his term of office as superior manifest the same characteristics. He was an incurable optimist: one of those men who took pride in the accomplishments of others, who considered everyone else better than himself, and who found it very hard to blame or to condemn. Whenever he encountered indefensible actions in his subordinates, he did not trust his own judgment but sought advice before condemning. When such actions were done by those outside his jurisdiction, he made no mention of them at all in his confidential letters to higher superiors. New France in general, and Quebec in particular, would have been none the worse if there had been more men, lay as well as cleric, of the caliber of Dablon during the second half of the seventeenth century and later.²⁸

After his return from the Iroquois country, Father Dablon remained in Quebec for the next three years engaged in the

²⁵ Dablon to Goswin Nickel, Quebeci, Calendis Septemb., 1658, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 109, I, 299.

²⁶ The letter is reprinted and translated in JR, 59:64 ff.

²⁷ [F. Martin, ed.], *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle France (1672-1679), pour faire suite aux anciennes Relations (1615-1672)*, 2 vols., Paris, 1861, II, 4, note 2. See the bibliographical note on this compilation in JR, 57:311-312.

²⁸ Cf. J. Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 155-156.

ministry and preaching.²⁹ His letters to the General during this time contain nothing about the colony which cannot be found in greater detail in the Relations for these years, the most important item of all being the Iroquois menace.³⁰

On May 3, 1661, Dablon left Quebec with Father Druillettes to find Indian tribes whose habitat was on the shores of the "Sea of the North." They went as "far as famine and the Iroquois permitted,"³¹ to Nekouba [Lake Nikabau], near the summit of the St. Lawrence watershed. Incidentally, this was the farthest point reached up to this time in an overland journey from the Lower St. Lawrence to Hudson Bay. The account of this expedition in the Relation of 1660-1661 is a combination, very probably by Father Paul Le Jeune in Paris, of the journals which Dablon and Druillettes had kept during the voyage.³²

Returning to Quebec sometime before July 27, 1661, Dablon resumed his priestly duties in that vicinity until 1669,³³ when he left for the West with Father Allouez.³⁴ This event has been explained as follows by a recent historian:

Dablon's appointment was probably occasioned by the activity of the Sulpitians, who were at that time preparing an expedition for the discovery of the Great Lakes and the commencement of a mission on Green Bay. The Jesuits, unwilling to share the western field, determined to forestall them there; so Allouez left the Sault, No-

²⁹ *Journal des Jésuites*, 270, 271, 275, 276, 277, 280, 283, 289, 294.

³⁰ Dablon to Goswin Nickel, Quebeci, 9^o Octobr., 1659, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 109, I, 314; *id.* to *id.*, Kebeci, Calendis Octobris, 1660, *ibid.*, 110, I, 6.

³¹ JR, 47:60.

³² JR, 46:252 ff. Dablon briefly mentions this journey in his letter of September 20, 1661, ending it as follows: "Tertium Jam annum agit R. P. hieronymus Lallement In huius Misionis administraçõe, verum cum tantã omnium approbatione, ut providentiã quadam Diuinã factum esse putem, hunc nobis non expectantibus datum esse Superiorem, eo tempore quo maxime tali homine Indiguimus: quapropter si paternitas vestra, iterum Superiorem nobis praeficiat, omnibus ut censeo, et Intus et foris gratum faciet, ac neminem cum pari Laude posse id oneris sustinere"; Dablon to Nickel, Kebeci, 20 Septemb., 1661, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 110, I, 15. The following year he again wrote that it was necessary to the missions "ut quamdiu fieri poterit Pater hieronymus Lallement haru[m] missionum Superior prorogetur . . . Caeterã, si qua regio est, quae totius Societatis precibus Indigeat, haec est sanẽ In quã Patres Nostri In laboribus plurimis, In carceribus abundantius, In mortibus frequenter, tam generosẽ vineam Dñi excolunt," Dablon to Oliva, Kebeci, in novã franciã, 19 Septemb. ann. 1662, *ibid.*, 20. The same note is struck in his letter of September 1, 1663, *ibid.*, 30, both with regard to Lalemant and to his brother Jesuits.

³³ Cf. *Journal des Jésuites*, 311, 320, 324, 347, 359. Besides the three letters mentioned in the note above, two more written between 1661 and 1669, are extant, all addressed to the General in Rome, one dated August 26, 1664, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 110, I, 35-36, the other September 1, 1668, *ibid.*, 43.

³⁴ JR, 52:198. Cf. *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter lxxii, to her son, September 1, 1669, 638-639.

vember 3, 1669, escorted by two canoe-loads of Potawatomi then returning from their second visit to New France.³⁵

Contemporary evidence, however, does not in any way support the above explanation. Two years previously, in 1667, Allouez had come back from the West to Quebec to ask for help, long before the Sulpicians thought of founding missions in that region. He had returned that same year with Father Nicolas, and Marquette had followed in 1668. On the other hand, when the first Sulpicians, MM. Dollier and Galinée, set out from Montreal at the beginning of July 1669, they had no idea of "commencing a mission on Green Bay"; they had no idea of going to the Northwest at all. The events that led to their expedition are described in Galinée's narrative. While M. Dollier was learning the Algonquian language among the Nipissing, the chief of that tribe sent a slave on some errand to Montreal. This slave, who had been presented to the chief by the Ottawa Indians, but who was not an Ottawa himself, called on M. de Queylus, the superior of the Sulpicians. The latter "saw that the man might be of great service in the conversion of his countrymen, who, he said, were very numerous."³⁶ So he sent the slave back with a letter to M. Dollier, in which he suggested that the slave be used as a guide. M. Dollier, we are told, "managed so well with the man that he extracted a promise from him to conduct him to his own country,"³⁷ located southwest of Montreal. Actually the fulfillment of this promise was never called for, because when Dollier went to Quebec in May 1669, to ask Bishop Laval's leave to go to the "nations called Ottawa,"³⁸ he was persuaded by Governor Courcelle, as Galinée says, to go with La Salle to find the Ohio. In the passport given to La Salle for this journey, Courcelle requested

the governors of provinces in which he might arrive, such as Virginia, Florida, etc., to allow him passage and render assistance they would wish us to do for them in like case. It was to help on this project, moreover, that M. Dollier was requested by the governor to turn his zeal towards the tribes dwelling on the Ohio River and to agree to accompany La Salle.³⁹

³⁵ L. P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, Madison, 1925, 159.

³⁶ L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 167.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 168.

³⁸ E. Z. Massicotte, *Montréal sous le régime français*, Montreal, 1919, 7. Cf. *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter lxxxii, to her son, September 1, 1669, 638.

³⁹ Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 169.

Hence the expedition set out toward the southwest, looking for the Ohio River. Indeed, until the party met Jolliet⁴⁰ at Tinawatawa, we hear of nothing else except of the Ohio,⁴¹ which, La Salle believed, emptied into the Gulf of California,⁴² that is, southwest of Montreal. Only after speaking with Jolliet did they resolve to change the general direction of their journey, and even then their goal was not Green Bay, but the country of the Shawnee, whose habitat was then south-southwest of Montreal. Galinée is quite clear on the subject:

Moreover, the route which M. Jolliet had taken, with the news he brought us—that he had sent some of his party in search of a very numerous nation of Ottawa called the Potawatomi, amongst whom there never had been any missionaries, and that this tribe bordered on the Iskoutegas and *the great river that led to the Shawnee*—induced M. Dollier and me to wish to go and search for the river into which we wished to enter by way of the Ottawa rather than by that of the Iroquois, because the route seemed to us much easier and we both knew the Ottawa language.⁴³

Thus inspired by Jolliet's account, the two Sulpicians accordingly went off in search of the river which would lead them to the Ottawa country. Their journey by way of Lakes Erie and Huron finally ended at Sault Ste. Marie in May 1670. There they were received with "all possible charity" at "the place where the Reverend Jesuit Fathers have made their principal establishment for the missions of the Ottawa and neighboring tribes."⁴⁴

The Jesuits had in fact been at the Sault long before they heard of the Sulpicians coming to the West;⁴⁵ and Allouez had been evangelizing Indians at La Pointe near the far western end of Lake Superior several years earlier. Since some of these latter Indians had returned to Green Bay by 1668,⁴⁶ it is only to be expected that Allouez would follow them there, independently of "the activity of the Sulpitians." And the immediate reason for his leaving the Sault for Green Bay in November 1669 was not because he was "determined to forestall them there"; nor was it to convert the Potawatomi who "had no disposition for the

⁴⁰ This Jolliet, commonly identified as Louis, was very likely Adrien Jolliet, Louis' brother. The evidence which led me to this conclusion is examined at length in an unpublished book on the voyages of Louis Jolliet.

⁴¹ Kellogg, *ibid.*, 181, 186-187, 191.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 168.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 192. With regard to Dollier's and Galinée's knowledge of Ottawa, cf. the various statements, *ibid.*, 165, 170, 184.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁴⁵ JR, 52:198.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 200.

Faith," but that he "might curb some young Frenchmen, who being among them for the purpose of trading, were threatening them and maltreating them."⁴⁷ Nor was "Dablon's appointment probably occasioned by the activity of the Sulpitians." As a missionary he would not be very useful, for he knew little of either of the two basic Indian languages, the Huron and Algonquian.⁴⁸ He was sent to the West not to remain there, but only to organize the missions and to make Sault Ste. Marie the center of all missionary activities in the West. This is clear from one of the letters of Mother Marie de l'Incarnation,⁴⁹ who had the information directly from the Jesuits themselves, and from the following letter of Father Le Mercier, Jesuit superior at Quebec, to the General in Rome, dated August 26, 1670:

About ten months ago⁵⁰ I wrote to Father Claude Dablon, superior of the Algonquian missions among the Ottawa, to return next spring [1671], since he was needed here for many reasons.⁵¹ He received my letter in good time, and answered that he would return at the first opportunity. I am sure he will comply, especially since he knows that very recently I received orders through several safe channels that he should be recalled to Quebec as soon as possible.

I not only do not know any of our Fathers, I shall not say more capable than he is to govern these missions, but I do not know of any one else who, in the present state of affairs, can conveniently be made superior; not indeed because there are no others who have governing ability, but because some, being too advanced in years, would be unequal to the burden, or because having come too recently to this country, they lack the [necessary] experience; and as for those still in full vigor, they are laboring in very difficult missions, whence they cannot be removed and given other employs

⁴⁷ JR, 54:196.

⁴⁸ Cf. *infra*, the letter of Le Mercier.

⁴⁹ "Le R. Pere Claude Dablon qui est déjà parti . . . pour gouverner ces Missions là . . . Le R. Pere Dablon qui doit avoir l'inspection sur toutes, s'arrêtera à trois cens lieues d'ici afin de donner les soulagemens et les secours necessaires. Il va faire en ce lieu là une maison fixe, où les Missionnaires s'assembleront dans les necessitez pour consulter ensemble & y trouver leur rafraichissemens qu'on leur envoie de Quebec." *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter lxxxii, to her son, September 1, 1669, 638.

⁵⁰ "Decem circiter abhinc mensibus . . ." The letter is a copy, probably by a lay brother at Quebec; "decem" is certainly a clerical error, for all communications between Quebec and the West were suspended during the winter.

⁵¹ With regard to the sending of Dablon to the West with Allouez in 1669, the editor of the Relation of 1668-1669, very probably Father Le Mercier, the author of the letter of August 1670, wrote as follows: "The lot happily fell on Father Claude Dablon. He has been sent to be superior of the missions in the Upper Country, notwithstanding the abundant fruits of his ministry and the pressing necessity of his presence here." JR, 52:198.

without notable detriment to [the progress of] the Christian religion.

After giving details about the activities of various Jesuits in the mission field, Father Le Mercier goes on to say:

One man, to my judgment, the missions can easily spare, Father Claude Dablon, because of his lack of knowledge of [Indian] languages, in which he hardly had any practice, for obedience entrusted him with other duties. All the Jesuits rightly wish him for superior, because he lacks none of the qualities necessary to acquit himself perfectly of these functions: whether it be science, knowledge of our Institute [way of life], prudence, and experience, since he has been in all our Iroquois and Algonquian missions; or whether it be piety and all other virtues, which earned for him a special regard from our Fathers and from externs. If your Paternity would be so kind as to appoint him rector of this college and superior of these missions, our wishes, solely actuated by the glory of God and the salvation of souls, would be abundantly satisfied. Besides, we have already sent to Reverend Father Provincial our opinion about the same Father Claude Dablon as well as about others who had been proposed as superior of this house, and the consultors [advisers] have sent an accurate report about this matter.⁵²

One may legitimately conclude from this letter that the sending of Dablon to the West in 1669 was not because of the activity of the Sulpicians, nor to block their invasion of the western mission field. As a matter of fact, the question of forestalling the Sulpicians in the West could not even have arisen, for all that Le Mercier could have known in the summer of 1669, when he sent Dablon to the West, was that MM. Dollier and Galinée were headed for the Ohio.

Dablon must have left Sault Ste. Marie immediately after St. Lusson had taken formal possession of the West, on June 4, 1671; for he was installed at Quebec as rector of the college and superior of all the Jesuit missions in New France, July 12, 1671.⁵³

As superior general of the Jesuits in New France, it was his duty to edit the Relations in Quebec. His first, one of the longest,

⁵² Le Mercier to Oliva, Quebec, August 26, 1670, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 110, I, 54-55. Two days later Chaumonot wrote: "Quod attinet ad domestica R. P. Le Mercier rector hujus collegii pergit officio sua quam solertissime fungi, mirum quam suavi simul et efficaci regimine suos moderatur. Hunc profecto mutari non cuperem, nisi provectoris iam esset aetatis infirmaeque valetudinis. Quod si Paternitati Vrae placuerit nobis alium assignare Rectorem nullum alium censeo digniorem Patre Claudio Dablon." Chaumonot to Oliva, August 28, 1670, *ibid.*, 58.

⁵³ This date is found in the manuscript extracts from the catalogue in the Collège Ste. Marie Archives, Montreal, whence the compiler of the list of Jesuit superiors in New France took it, JR, 71:123, adding without indicating the source of this information, "but appointed in 1670."

that of 1670-1671, is divided into three parts. The third part, which is longer than the other two combined, treats of the Jesuit "Missions aux Outaouacs," whence Dablon had just returned, and contains a detailed description of what until then had been *terra incognita*. He is also responsible for the famous map of Lake Superior about which it has been said:

No one can examine this fine delineation of Lake Superior and the northern parts of Michigan and Huron without amazement at the amount of scientific exploration and careful observation which made it possible. Not until the second quarter of the nineteenth century was any cartographical work of the magnitude and character of this Jesuit map executed in the Great Lakes area.⁵⁴

After 1673, as is well known, the Relations were no longer published annually in France. Those interested in the progress of discovery and exploration of the Great Lakes region and of the Mississippi Valley may well regret that Dablon edited so few, for most of what he wrote after 1673 is lost. The only other Relation published while he was superior is that of 1671-1672. He undoubtedly followed with interest the gradual unfolding of the geography of the great valley, and his description of the great river flowing therein was the first ever published.⁵⁵ He was in Quebec in 1683, when the news of La Salle's descent of the Mississippi to the sea reached the capital of New France, and he would have had occasion to meet there some of La Salle's companions. During his second term in Quebec as superior of the Jesuit missions, the survivors of La Salle's last expedition arrived there, and it is to him that Tonti granted the land concession for the Jesuits on the Arkansas River.⁵⁶

His first term, from July 12, 1671 to August 6, 1680, was the longest of any superior between the return of the Jesuits to New France in 1632 and 1739, when Father de St. Pé also held office for nine years instead of the usual six. But Dablon's term was incomparably more trying than St. Pé's. It required infinitely more tact to be superior of the Jesuit missions under Frontenac than under Beauharnais; it was more difficult in Frontenac's time to steer clear of controversies and avoid clashes with the Recollects, who "candidly confessed that they only came to

⁵⁴ L. C. Karpinski, *Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan*, Lansing, 1931, 99. Cf. J. Delanglez, "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 56, 57, for the validity of Parkman's pronouncement on this map in *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, 450.

⁵⁵ In the *Recueil de voyages de Mr. Thevenot*, Paris, 1681.

⁵⁶ J. Delanglez, ed., "Tonti Letters," *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, 1939, 236.

Canada to fight the clergy,"⁵⁷ than to live in harmony with these missionaries after the passing of their "pernicious friend."⁵⁸ It was better that a peaceful man like Dablon should have been superior during eight of the ten years of Frontenac's first term as governor; although it would perhaps not have been too great a calamity if the Jesuit superior had been as determined in his dealings with the morbidly suspicious governor as was M. de Fénelon.

Although Dablon's name does not appear in Frontenac's extant letters between 1672 and 1680, the "superior of the Jesuits" is mentioned several times therein. The governor had hardly arrived at Quebec when he arbitrarily demanded that the missionaries going to their post in New France should obtain a passport from him. This was not only an innovation, but also an abuse of authority condemned and forbidden by the king as soon as he heard of it.⁵⁹ Frontenac told Dablon that the Jesuits ought to be the first to show an example of submission in this matter. "He forthwith sent Father de Crépieu to me,"⁶⁰ to get the famous passport.

In spite of the efforts of Frontenac's admirers to establish their hero's fictitious reputation, his own letters and other contemporary documents, especially the records of the Sovereign Council, afford convincing evidence of his arbitrariness, petty tyranny, and childish vanity. In the light of this evidence, there can be no doubt of the inability of "the greatest governor of New France" to live at peace with any one in Canada invested with any kind of authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical. Still less can we doubt that Dablon's administrative and diplomatic skill was extraordinary, for after a year in Quebec, the irascible governor wrote of him as follows:

The Superior of the Jesuits is a quiet and prudent man who will not cause any trouble; but there are certain interests of his community which he cannot forsake, for which he is bound to take action, but he always does this quietly and without seeming to do so. We are getting along fine, he and I, and except for affairs of this sort, I manifest to him as well as to the ecclesiastics of the Seminary

⁵⁷ L. B. de La Tour, *Mémoires sur la vie de Mgr. de Laval, premier évêque de Québec*, Cologne, 1761, 200.

⁵⁸ A. Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr de Laval, premier évêque de Québec et apôtre du Canada, 1622-1708*, 2 vols., Quebec, 1890, II, 108. Cf. T. Chapais, *Jean Talon: Intendant de la Nouvelle France (1665-1672)*, Quebec, 1904, 322, note.

⁵⁹ Louis XIV to Frontenac, April 22, 1675, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1926-1927 (RAPQ)*, 82.

⁶⁰ Frontenac to Colbert, November 2, 1672, *ibid.*, 20.

every possible kindness, and do them all possible favors, and until now there is nothing which he [Dablon] asked that I did not grant him.⁶¹

The following year, after giving an interminable account of his quarrel with M. de Fénelon, Frontenac observed:

The Jesuits are the only ones who have not appeared in all this, although they may have as great a share in it as the others, but they are more clever, and hide their hand better; their superior is a very quiet and a very prudent man, and not at all a mischiefmaker. I have always got along well with him, and he, I think, is satisfied with me, as I must confess I am with him.⁶²

His only complaint against Dablon was that he interested himself exclusively in the evangelization of the Indians, and told Frontenac bluntly that the Jesuits "had not come to Canada to act as parish priests for the French."⁶³

Frontenac's good opinion of Dablon is clearly illustrated by a reference to him which the governor made before the Sovereign Council at Quebec, a year after Dablon's term had ended. Wishing, for reasons of his own, to delay promulgating among the western posts the letters of amnesty received from the king in 1681 for the coureurs de bois, Frontenac told the Council how difficult it would be for canoes to reach the various posts before ice had set in, even though they were to leave Quebec at the end of August. If the councilors are unwilling to take his word for this, he says, let them ask "Father Dablon, the man who has a better knowledge of these parts than anybody in New France, both because of his long sojourn among the Ottawa, and because of the memorials and information sent to him by his subordinates who are in these missions."⁶⁴

Besides the various writings of Dablon published by Thwaites, there are in the Jesuit Archives three manuscript letters of his, written during his term as superior. One was written to the Assistant of France, Father Boucher, under date of October 25, 1678; another was sent to the General, September 1, 1679, and

⁶¹ *Id.* to *id.*, November 13, 1673, *ibid.*, 33.

⁶² *Id.* to *id.*, November 14, 1674, *ibid.*, 73. Fourteen years later, when Dablon was superior for the second time, Bishop St. Vallier wrote as follows: "Ce Supérieur est à présent le Père d'Ablon, homme d'un mérite et d'une expérience consommée, avec qui j'ai eu beaucoup de liaison pendant mon séjour en Canada; plus on le voit plus on l'estime." H. Têtu and C.-O. Gagnon, eds., *Mandements, Lettres pastorales et circulaires des Evêques de Québec*, I, 195.

⁶³ Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 75.

⁶⁴ *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 vols., Quebec, 1885-1891, II, 671.

the third, to the Cardinals of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, was written at Quebec, November 13, 1679.

Most of the first letter is taken up with domestic matters, except for the opening paragraphs:

We received the letters sent us this year by our Father [General] as well as those of your Reverence. Here is an answer to them, as well as information about those things of which it is well that your Reverence should be informed.

My Lord of Quebec continues to like us, and we continue to honor him and render him all the services we can. He is a saintly prelate.

M. Duchesneau, our intendant, is still a very good friend of ours and a very righteous man.

We live in the most perfect union with priests of my Lord of Quebec's seminary, and with those of St. Sulpice. M. Tronson, the superior of the latter in Paris, wrote me a kind letter expressing his pleasure.⁶⁵ We are also getting along well with the Reverend Recollect Fathers.

And in general I can say that all the good people of Canada like and esteem us, and that persecutions and slanders come only from the wicked. This is a reason for being thankful to God.⁶⁶

It will be noticed that when mentioning his friends and well-wishers, Dablon does not say a word about Frontenac. He was evidently not deceived by appearances, and had no illusions about the governor's outward show of civility. He had almost certainly been told by his provincial in Paris of the Jesuit-baiting campaign carried on there by Frontenac's friends, who were circulating libelous memoranda, received from the governor himself and from his hangers-on in Canada, painting the Jesuits blacker than their gowns, simply because they were opposed to the brandy trade. Moreover, at the time when this letter was written, Bishop Laval had received the report of M. Dudouyt on the sale of hard liquor to the Indians.⁶⁷ Since the Jesuits were the staunchest supporters of the Bishop and his clergy in their unremitting fight against this nefarious traffic,

⁶⁵ This was probably the letter of M. Tronson to Dablon, July 2, 1678, no. 64. On the correspondence of M. Tronson, superior of the Sulpicians in Paris, cf. O. Maurault, "Les lettres de M. Tronson," in *La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique*, *Rapport 1936-1937*, 11-19. I saw copies of these letters in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa. The letter of July 2, 1678, was not copied. In all, M. Tronson wrote sixteen letters to Dablon.

⁶⁶ Dablon to Boucher, October 25, 1678, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 110, I, 62.

⁶⁷ D. Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives, 1885*, Ottawa, 1886, Note C, xcvi-civ, cviii, cx, cxx.

and since "the priests of my Lord of Quebec's seminary," with whom "we live in the most perfect union," were kept in touch with the latest developments of Frontenac's besmirching campaign in Paris, Dablon would surely have learned from them what the governor's real attitude toward the Jesuits was. Under the circumstances, he could not list the governor among his friends; and hence, quite characteristically, he does not mention Frontenac at all.

His changed attitude toward the governor is in strong contrast with the hopes which he had expressed in the Relation of 1671-1672. After deploring the departure of Courcelle and Talon in the latter year, he immediately added: "These losses would be more keenly felt by us were they not fortunately repaired by the coming of M. the Count de Frontenac, our new governor, chosen by the king to carry forward the far reaching plans of his Majesty for New France."⁶⁸

Dablon ends this letter to Father Boucher by reminding him that this is the eighth year of his superiorship, and that it would be well to choose a successor. A similar reminder of his eight years in office occurs in the second of the three letters mentioned above, which, as we have seen, he sent to the General the following year:

I thought I would be doing something agreeable to your Paternity, if I were to give a general idea of the Canadian mission, which I have been administering for more than eight years, so that your Paternity may see how generously your sons are devoting themselves to promote the glory of God and the salvation of souls.⁶⁹

With this letter, which describes the state of the various Jesuit mission centers in New France, Dablon enclosed a catalogue of the baptisms administered in 1679 by the Jesuits among the Iroquois, the Ottawa, and in the Tadoussac region, as well as in the three sedentary missions, one near Montreal, the others at Sillery and at Lorette. According to this catalogue, 1,048 baptisms, mostly of infants, had taken place in the field missions, and 750 in the sedentary missions.⁷⁰

In the third of these letters, which is written in majestic Latin to the Cardinals of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, he gives "an account of the state of religion" in

⁶⁸ JR, 55:234.

⁶⁹ Dablon to Oliva, Quebeco in Novâ franciâ, 1 Septemb. 1679, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 110, I, 67.

⁷⁰ Catalogus Barbarorum Canadensium à Patribus Societatis JESU Baptisatorum hoc anno 1679, *ibid.*, 70.

Canada.⁷¹ These two letters may be considered as containing in résumé what would have been included in the Relation of 1678-1679, had the Jesuits not ceased publishing their Relations six years previously.

In August 1680, Dablon's place as superior was taken by Father Thierry Beschefer,⁷² whom he had recommended in his letter of October 25, 1678 to the Assistant of France. During Beschefer's six years in office, there is only an occasional mention of Dablon in the contemporary records.⁷³ According to the official Jesuit catalogues, he had charge of the domestic affairs of the college at Quebec for the next four years; and we may be sure that he engaged in the ordinary functions of the ministry as he had done after his return from the Iroquois country in the interval between 1656 and his departure for the West in 1669.

On August 18, 1686,⁷⁴ he was again made superior of the Jesuit missions and rector of the college of Quebec.⁷⁵ This second term lasted until August 1693. Denonville was governor general at the time of his appointment, and Frontenac returned as governor of New France in the middle of his term of office. During the siege of Quebec in 1690, while the Jesuits acted as chaplains in the beleaguered city,

the Reverend Father Superior remained at the college with some of the oldest of our Fathers and Brothers, where they resolved to await the enemy, and should the enemy take the town, to go to

⁷¹ Ad Eminentissimos et Reverendissimos [Cardinales], Quebeci in Novâ Franciâ ad Idus Novembres, anno assertae per Christum salutis 1679; Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 110, III, 370-376.

⁷² Jesuit Catalogue for 1681.

⁷³ Cf. NYCD, IX, 168 ff.; JR, 62:156 ff.

⁷⁴ On October 1, 1686, six weeks after his second appointment as superior, a land concession was granted to Father Dablon and other missionaries of the Society of Jesus by Denonville and Champigny. This concession consisted of "une estendue de terre de vingt arpens de front le long de la Riviere St. Joseph cydevant dite Miamis qui tombe dans le sud du Lac des Illinois ou outagamis sur vingt arpens de profondeur a l'endroit qu'ils trouveront le plus convenable pour bastir une chapelle, une maison et semer des grains et des legumes." *Jugement et délibérations*, III, 398-399. From this text it appears that in 1686 there was as yet no permanent mission on the St. Joseph River, cf. G. Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVII, 1930-1931, 25. The land concession was ratified by the king May 24, 1689, AC, B 15:71, printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888, V, 35. The beginnings of the St. Joseph mission must then be placed between 1686 and the death of Allouez in 1689. In a memoir dated January 1, 1720, Charlevoix confessed that he did not know the year of its foundation; he thought it had begun in 1683; *Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Angleterre*, 334:74.

⁷⁵ Cf. the letter of Tronson to Dablon, May 14, 1687, no. 353, after the Sulpician learned of the Jesuit's second appointment as superior of the missions in New France.

the church and there receive the death-blow at the foot of the main altar.⁷⁶

The only extant unpublished manuscript of Father Dablon during his second superiorship is the obituary letter of February 28, 1693, announcing the death of Father Chaumonot.⁷⁷ This veteran missionary, who had been in Canada for fifty-four years, had died a week earlier. The obituary briefly recounts his activities, as we read them in Chaumonot's autobiography and in the continuation of the same, which Dablon himself wrote.⁷⁸ As is to be expected, the superior of the Jesuits had nothing but praise for the missionary in whose company, forty years before, he had gone to his first assignment in the Iroquois country.

A letter to the General of October 1, 1693, two months after the end of his second term, alludes to the fact that he had written another letter in 1692. This, as well as the other annual letters which it was his duty to write to the General during his term of office, has unfortunately been lost. In the Jesuit Archives there is a gap of fourteen years, from November 13, 1679, the date of the above-mentioned letter to the Cardinals of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, to October 1, 1693, the date of this last letter to the General. Although Dablon was now seventy-five years old, this last letter shows how little he had changed since 1656. He is still lavish in his praise of everybody. Father Bruyas, his successor, shouldered the burden of superiorship "to the great joy and approbation of all our Fathers. We knew indeed that he was endowed with remarkable gifts, and that he was the man best fitted to direct the most difficult enterprises."⁷⁹ Dablon himself became director of the college sodality.⁸⁰

During the years of his second superiorship his name is not mentioned in the official government correspondence, so far as I have been able to discover. The next reference to him which occurs in a letter of the governor was occasioned by the following incident.

One of the Jesuits at Michilimackinac wrote to Quebec that the Indians of the Northwest were still protesting against the brandy traffic there, complaining that, as everyone knew, the

⁷⁶ JR, 64:48.

⁷⁷ Lettre circulaire du R. P. Chaumonot au P. P[rovinci]al, MN, Mss. fr., 6452:8-16v.

⁷⁸ Cf. JR, 71:235. It is difficult to see what led Shea to attribute the continuation of the life of Chaumonot to Father Rale.

⁷⁹ Dablon to Thyrsus Gonzalez, Quebeci, in novâ franciâ 1 Octobris 1693, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 110, II, 205.

⁸⁰ Jesuit catalogues for these years.

selling of brandy to them was a "kind of officially sanctioned pillage." They went so far as to say that if an unlimited quantity of liquor was still allowed to be sold in the western posts, "it must be because M. the Governor, my Lord the Bishop, and the missionaries themselves were conspiring to rob them." The Jesuit who forwarded this protest of the Indians began his letter to Frontenac thus:

M. de Louvigny, who brought your orders here, saw the unusual disorder caused by the brandy trade. If you wish to contribute to the service of God and of the king, to the increase of religion, to the establishment of trade, to the continuation of the war with the Iroquois, and to foster satisfaction among all the responsible Christian [Indian] elders and warriors who have charge of the affairs of our Indians; finally if you wish to be sure of saving your soul, and if you have at heart the eternal salvation of the souls of the French and of the Indians who trade with them, you will not allow this wretched liquor to be transported [hither] and you will execute the orders of the king which expressly forbid the carrying of brandy into the depths of the wilderness.⁸¹

One can easily imagine the effect of such a letter on Frontenac. He first complained to Dablon, then sent the letter to his wife in France, and noisily protested to his friend Lagny that he was being made "not only the sole author of the disorder" caused by the unrestricted sale of brandy to the Indians, but that he was being also held "responsible for the spread of this disorder and for countenancing it."

Dablon, like everybody else in New France, was well aware that, if Frontenac had been so inclined, he could easily have set matters right either by putting a stop to the traffic entirely, or at least by regulating it. Consequently the governor's loud protests left him unmoved, as appears from what we read farther down in the same letter of Frontenac to Lagny:

I have asked the new superior [Bruyas] whom they have installed here to take the place of Father Dablon, to reprimand a little more sternly his subordinates of Michilimackinac and elsewhere. For if I hear that they continue to do what they have been doing in the past [*i. e.*, to protest against the brandy trade], I shall order all of them to leave their missions and come down here. [I told Bruyas] that I would write this very year to Father de la Chaise, and I most certainly shall say a few words to him, although in a nice way.

He [Bruyas] emphatically promised me that he would send such

⁸¹ Extrait d'une lettre écrite de Michilimackinac du 30 juin 1691 à M. le Comte de Frontenac en Canada, AC, C 11A, 12:140-140 v.

stringent orders [to Michilimackinac] that I would have no more cause for complaints. He admitted that their conduct was indefensible. God grant that he keep this promise, for it is not pleasant to have to take such extreme measures.⁸²

This threat to recall all the missionaries from the western posts was sheer braggadoccio, for Frontenac knew quite well that such an action would never be countenanced by the king. Neither the governor general of Canada, nor even the Jesuits themselves could close these missions if they had wished to do so. As a matter of fact, three years later, in 1696, when the governor spoke of bringing back the Jesuit missionaries from the West, he was soon called to order; and when the missionaries abandoned Michilimackinac of their own accord in 1706, an order promptly came from the king commanding them to return and reopen the mission there.

There is one more letter of Dablon to the General, dated October 1, 1696. His handwriting is still as steady as it was forty years earlier when he sent his first letter from Ste. Marie in the Iroquois country. In this last letter he repeats what he had written about his successor three years earlier: Father Bruyas is the best superior the missions could have. True, he was earnestly wishing to be relieved as soon as possible from the cares of superiorship in order to go back to the Indian missions. But the matter is not so urgent as all that; there are other Jesuits who can be sent to the missions. Bruyas himself should remain at Quebec, because there are administrative problems in connection with the college which he alone can solve. As for the others, they are all laboring strenuously in the missions. He ends his letter by notifying the General that one of the Jesuits in Quebec is collecting data on the wonders wrought at the tomb of "that Iroquois maid [Kateri Tekakwitha] about whom I wrote to your Paternity last year."⁸³

This is the last extant letter written by Dablon. He died in the following year, May 3, *al.* September 20, 1697,⁸⁴ nearly eighty years of age, and was probably buried in the Jesuit church next to the college.⁸⁵ This church which was still standing in 1807, was

⁸² Frontenac to Lagny, October 5, 1693, BN, Clairambault, 879:334.

⁸³ Dablon to Thyrsus Gonzalez, Quebeci In novâ francia, 1^a Octob. 1696, Jesuit Archives, Gallia, 110, II, 225.

⁸⁴ These two dates are given by Father Jones in JR, 71:123; they are repeated by Melançon, *Liste des Missionnaires-Jésuites*, s. v. Dablon. P.-G. Roy gives only the earlier date in *Les cimetières de Québec*, Lévis, 1941, 142. None of these writers indicates the source of these statements.

⁸⁵ P.-G. Roy, *Les cimetières de Québec*, 141.

destroyed in that year, probably because the English government officials who had moved into the college of the Jesuits were unwilling to make the necessary repairs. M. P.-G. Roy writes that a "resolution of the church wardens of Quebec, dated May 3, 1807, provided that the bodies of the Jesuits [buried in that church] should be transported to the basement of the cathedral at the expense of the trustees."⁸⁶

* * * * *

The account given in the above sketch may serve to show how accurate is the judgment passed by the late Miss Kellogg, the author of the article on Dablon in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

He was one of the most energetic, able and conscientious of the Canadian missionaries; his zeal and endurance were notable, and his judgment was excellent; his delight in nature and in the conquering of obstacles distinguished him; and his writings are a source of information about natural phenomena and the habits and customs of the natives.

A final point may be noted here regarding his connection with the discovery of the Mississippi. His writings prior to its actual discovery contain more information about that river than do the writings of anyone else during that period. After the discovery, he was very instrumental in bringing the facts concerning it to the attention of the European public. It is Dablon who interviewed Jolliet shortly after the latter's return to Quebec, and it is Dablon who sent to France the earliest known account of the voyage down the Mississippi in 1673 as he had it from the explorer himself, thus forestalling the impudent denials of the reality of the voyage by seventeenth-century lay and clerical pamphleteers.

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⁸⁶ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 140.

Mem de Sá, Third Governor-General of Brazil, 1557-1572

The administration of Mem de Sá represents a critical period of Brazilian history. For over fifty years the Portuguese had been working to establish a stable colony in this country, but hitherto without sufficient concern and without great success. When the first settlers were sent to Brazil, the King and his advisers knew little about conditions prevailing there. Accordingly, they prescribed a system of colonial organization that had been successful elsewhere but which was ill-adapted to a country so remote and so different from Portugal, from India, or the Islands: they divided the land among feudatory captains each independent of the others and responsible to the Crown alone. Some of the captains never saw Brazil; some attempted to carry on colonization themselves and failed through lack of sufficient resources; few survived. The results were so unsatisfactory that in 1549 the office of governor-general was created, but until 1557 its incumbent had only a limited jurisdiction over the captaincies, except those which had reverted to the Crown.¹

Moreover, during the first half century of colonization the Court was much more interested in India than in Brazil and gave but scant attention to the latter. This affected both the quality of the colonists and the amount of support they received from the mother country. Thus, in the main, the rank and file of the earlier settlers were adventurers, shipwrecked sailors, paupers, petty offenders, and *degradados* banished for criminal offenses. Comparatively few in number were the officials, soldiers for the colonial garrisons, and the clergy. Inevitably the lawlessness,

¹ A summary of this early history is given by William B. Greenlee, "The First Half Century of Brazilian History," in *MID-AMERICA*, XXV (April 1943), 91-120. Other articles in *MID-AMERICA* also cover particular phases of sixteenth-century Brazilian history: Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," XXIV (Jan. 1942), 3-26, and "Nóbrega of Brazil" (July 1942), 151-187; J. Manuel Espinosa, "Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," XXIV (Jan. 1942), 27-60, "Luiz da Grã, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil" (July 1942), 188-216, "Fernão Cardim, 'Jesuit Humanist of Colonial Brazil' (Oct. 1942), 252-271, and "José de Anchieta," XXV (Oct. 1943), 250-274, XXVI (Jan. 1944), 40-61; Ruth Lapham Butler, "Thomé de Sousa, First Governor-General of Brazil," XXIV (Oct. 1942), 229-251, and "Duarte da Costa, Second Governor-General of Brazil," XXV (July 1943), 163-179.

greed, and license of such a populace were reflected in all contacts between the whites and the natives.²

How far the ignorance and indifference of the Court may have affected the selection of the higher colonial officials is uncertain, but there can be no doubt that many of the first appointments were extremely unfortunate. Though Thomé de Sousa, the first governor-general, was an able, upright, and conscientious man who accomplished much toward reducing the colony to order, he soon bowed under the burdens of his office and begged permission to retire. His successor, Duarte da Costa, was wholly incompetent and undid much of the good accomplished by Sousa. He quarreled bitterly with all of his chief associates, including Bishop Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, the first bishop of Brazil, who was himself a petty, pompous, and malicious person. Of much the same caliber, apparently, were most of the second rank of officials. The whole ruling class of the colony was soon split into factions, whose letters to the Court are not only recriminations against each other, but unintentional indictments of themselves.

With such persons in control of the colony and without military or naval reinforcements from Portugal, the colonists were unable to cope with either the encroachments of the French or the insurrections of the Indians. These two dangers were closely related to each other, especially after the French acquired a foothold in Brazil. From the time that Villegagnon settled at Guanabara Bay in 1555, he and his followers had displayed the characteristic talent of their nation for winning the friendship of native peoples and exploiting it for the apparent mutual benefit of the natives as well as themselves.³ Strengthened by reinforcements from France in March 1557, this intrusive settlement

² A vivid picture of the populace is the following: "Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degradados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores." Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, Chicago, 1942, 5-6.

³ For a description of Guanabara Bay and Villegagnon's first settlement, see André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique*, Paris, 1878, 126-129.

threatened by its central position on the coast to divide permanently the northern from the southern captaincies and to render cooperation between them for common defense impossible. Furthermore the French had so many ships plying the Atlantic, in their trade with the natives of Brazil, that they were able to interfere with the communication between the Portuguese colonists and the mother country.

During the years that these things were happening on this side of the Atlantic, conditions in Europe had become greatly altered. With the rise of Spanish power, Portugal became less prosperous and shifted her attention from India to the West. Reports of the rich possibilities of Brazil became generally current and many people were anxious to have men and money invested to develop the country and secure it definitely as Portuguese. Moreover, the Court was now well informed about conditions and events in Brazil, despite the obstacles of difficult and infrequent communication. Thomé de Sousa, the retired first governor, who served as *vedor* to the King, was in correspondence with Manuel da Nóbrega and had the personal knowledge to understand fully what he told him.⁴ The Conde de Castanheira, as colonial minister, must have learned much from the reports sent in by various minor officials, and no doubt there were many other sources of governmental and public information. Every returning ship captain and sailor, every retired bureaucrat and enriched or bankrupt settler and trader must have brought news of the country and its inhabitants.

In any event the Crown made several momentous decisions in 1556 and 1557. Bishop Sardinha and some of the members of his faction were called home for a formal hearing. That they were shipwrecked and devoured by cannibalistic savages at the very outset of their journey made no difference in the fate of da Costa; even without their evidence against him, he was to be supplanted at the end of his term by a new governor with sufficient ability, character, and authority to reduce the whole colonial organization to order, to put down Indian insurrections, and expel the French from Brazilian territory. The man appointed for this onerous threefold duty was Mem de Sá, a lawyer and judge of repute. By an auspicious conjunction of circum-

⁴ Sousa lived until January 28, 1579. His correspondence with Nóbrega ran from 1553 to the latter's death in 1570. *História da Colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, 3 volumes, Porto, 1924, III, 331-332, hereinafter cited as *Colonização*. Nóbrega also corresponded regularly with the King. José Mariz de Moraes, *Nóbrega*, Rio, 1940, 140.

stances and personalities, he became a distinguished statesman and Brazil became an important and prosperous colonial possession of Portugal.

Up to this time de Sá's career had not been in any way spectacular; indeed, if he had not received this momentous appointment he would probably not even have been remembered in historic annals. But as events were to demonstrate, he had all the necessary qualifications for the new position. He was honest, intelligent, and pious. Since he had been a judge he might be expected to enforce the law as justly and strictly in Brazil as he had in Portugal. But far more than this was needed in the colony—as governor-general he would require both military and administrative skill, of which he had as yet given no evidence. But Mem de Sá proved to be a person of extraordinary adaptability and varied talents. As need arose he became a warrior and a highly successful one, no less than a far-sighted colonial organizer.

Detailed information about the eminent Sá family is singularly scanty. Even the date of the future governor's birth is unknown, though it is quite certain that he was already in his late middle years when he took office in Brazil. The son of Gonçalo Mendes de Sá, who held a lay canonry in Coimbra, Mem de Sá was born in that city, and apparently with his brother, Francisco Sá de Miranda, the famous poet, received a classical education in the local university.⁵ Later the two brothers studied law at the University of Lisbon where both enjoyed the patronage of the Court. Francisco, the elder, after beginning a successful legal career abandoned it for poetry and became an intimate of Prince John, later John III. The younger, Mem de Sá, remained a lawyer and rose rapidly in his profession. On May 11, 1532, he was made judge in the *Casa da Supplicação* with a salary of 70,000 reaes, on March 24, 1536, he became *corregedor dos feitos civeis da corte*, an office with 80,000 reaes, and on August 6, 1541, he was appointed chief justice in the Court of Appeals. Finally, on November 7, 1556, he received the highest honor of a civil career, appointment to the King's Council.⁶

Of Mem de Sá's private life not much is known, indeed his will is one of our few available sources of information in this

⁵ Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, *Estudos sobre Sá de Miranda*, 3 volumes, Coimbra, 1896, I, 15, 32-33. These three small volumes are devoted to the poet's family, the third entirely to Mem de Sá. Many documents are here published.

⁶ Sousa Viterbo, *Estudos*, II, 18-19.

matter. It is clear, however, that on May 6, 1533, at Évora, he had married Guiomar de Faria,⁷ who died in 1542. Of this marriage there were five children. Of these the eldest, João Rodriguez de Sá, was killed at Ceuta, fighting the Moors; the second son, Fernão de Sá, accompanied his father to Brazil and was fatally wounded by an Indian arrow during his campaign against the natives of Espírito Santo; the elder of Mem de Sá's daughters, Beatriz, died at the age of twelve in Lisbon; the third son, Francisco, and the younger daughter, Felipa, survived their father. Francisco died soon after, unmarried, while Felipa married Fernando de Noronha, Conde de Linhares.⁸

MEM DE SA AND BRAZIL

Thus when Mem de Sá accepted the governor-generalship of Brazil, he must have been animated by patriotism and loyalty to his sovereign rather than by ambition, avarice, or a spirit of adventure. Mature in years, a widower of fifteen years' standing, he had already attained both wealth and the highest attainable honor of his profession. But if there was no strong personal reason why he should take the office, neither was there any reason why, having taken it, he should not devote himself completely to it. That this was his attitude is indicated by the long interval that passed between his appointment and his departure. Unlike his predecessors who had set out at once and had returned to Portugal just as quickly when their successors arrived, Mem de Sá seems to have put all his affairs at home in order against the possibility of remaining permanently in the colony, which, as a matter of fact he did, for he was to die there fifteen years later. And we may also suppose that he was just as diligent and serious with his official as with his private preparations. During the months before his departure he may have informed himself completely about the King's Brazilian policies and as far as possible about the problems that awaited him across the Atlantic.

De Sá's commission was issued on July 23, 1556, and invested him with an authority far beyond that accorded to either of his predecessors; he was given almost dictatorial power over all the captains and their subordinates without regard for any concessions, reservations, or exemptions granted to them in the original donations.⁹ He was responsible to the King alone, and apparently

⁷ *Revista de história*, VI (1917), 345n.

⁸ Sousa Viterbo, *Estudos*, III, 26-35. All of this information about his family is derived from his will.

⁹ *Annaes da Bibliotheca nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXVII (1906), 219-224; *Documentos históricos*, XXXV (1937), 406-412.

had the utmost freedom of action. So far as its terms were still applicable, the *Regimento*¹⁰ drawn up for Thomé de Sousa, December 17, 1548, seems to have been regarded as the constitution of the colony, but much of this was already obsolete or implicitly voided by the new governor-general's increased authority. In a similarly indirect manner Mem de Sá was given a larger income than his predecessors; though his commission named the old salary, 400,000 reaes, and the old term of office, three years, a royal letter dated August 21 conferred an additional annual grant of 200,000 reaes, and implied a permanent tenure, notwithstanding certain prohibitive statutes which it cited.

A considerable number of documents concerning the events of Mem de Sá's administration have been published but these include only three letters of the governor's composition: one of June 1, 1558, written from Bahia, another of March 31, 1560, from Rio de Janeiro, and a third of June 17, 1560, from São Vicente. There is also a curious *Instrumento dos serviços* of September 7, 1570.¹¹ This contains twenty-six concise paragraphs which summarize his chief activities from his arrival in Brazil to the date of writing, accompanied by fifteen affidavits from officials and private citizens certifying in the utmost detail the truth of the governor's by no means modest statements concerning his achievements. The only other important document from Mem de Sá's pen is his will to which reference has already been made.¹²

Additional facts concerning his activities and policies can be gleaned from the papers written by or to other persons during this period. Of these the richest in information are the letters of the Jesuits. No group of men covered the territory of Brazil more completely and none had a better understanding of what was happening or had a greater influence upon the administration. Though their chief interest was in Indian affairs, they were deeply concerned in military, economic, and political matters. Their letters, therefore, give not only full accounts of their own work among the natives, but in many cases the details of events which are merely mentioned in the governor's reports.

¹⁰ *Revista trimestral do Instituto histórico e geographico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, 1898, LXI, 39-57; also in *Colonização*, III, 345-353.

¹¹ *Annaes*, XXVII (1905), 129-218, *Instrumento*, letters, June 1, 1558, March 31, 1560, 225-229; letter of June 17, 1560, Sousa Viterbo, *Estudos*, II, 17, 25.

¹² Many letters of appointment, edicts, etc., may be found in *Documentos históricos*, XXXV (1937), 406-458 and XXXVI (1937).

Mem de Sá sailed from Portugal on April 30, 1557, with two large and eight smaller vessels. His voyage was a tedious one for the winds were contrary, and eight months were to pass before his ship reached its destination.¹³ The fleet touched at Cape Verde, Príncipe, and São Thomé, and, as it continued, broke up as one vessel after another was separated from the others. Nor was the voyage a healthy one, for no less than forty-two persons in the total company of 336 died of heat and starvation on the coast of Guinea. Before the governor finally reached Brazil the colonists had come to believe him lost, for other ships had already arrived and told the date of his departure from Cape Verde.¹⁴ But finally on December 28, 1557, Mem de Sá reached Bahia and was received with universal rejoicing.¹⁵ Within a few days he had taken over the administration from Duarte da Costa, who departed almost immediately from the thankless job of which he had made such a superb failure.

The history of Mem de Sá's administration falls into seven distinct periods: (1) preparation of a code of laws for the whole colony and its enforcement among both the white and native population in Bahia and its vicinity; (2) quelling of the hostile tribes in the nearby provinces of Espírito Santo and Ilhéus; (3) first steps against the French and the capture of Fort Coligny; (4) visit to the southern captaincies and their reduction to peace and order; (5) return to the capital and new Indian wars in both North and South; (6) final victory over the French and the founding of Rio de Janeiro; (7) de Sá's last years as governor and his death in 1572. Only a few of the main events can be mentioned here, as Mem de Sá's rule was so long, eventful, and important that an adequate description of it would require a separate volume.

It is highly significant that soon after landing the new governor shut himself up for several days with the Jesuits and devoutly performed the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius. No

¹³ Although appointed by John III, Mem de Sá was never to serve as representative of this sovereign in Brazil for John died at the age of fifty-five on June 11, 1557, after a reign of thirty-five years and six months. The new King Sebastian, John III's grandson, was three years and five months old so that the real government lay in the hands of the regent, Queen Catherine.

¹⁴ *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas*, edited by Serafim Leite, São Paulo, 1940, 63; *Cartas Jesuíticas*, 3 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1933, II, 187-188.

¹⁵ Mem de Sá describes his voyage in his *Instrumento dos serviços, Annaes*, XXVII, 131. He particularly notes the care which he gave the six orphan girls sent by the Crown. It may be mentioned in this connection that he took great care to find them suitable husbands. *Documentos históricos*, XXXV, xv, 431-437.

doubt during the same period he discussed his problems with these missionary fathers. Southey, who is never inclined to miss an opportunity for disparaging the Roman Church and is always diffident about giving credit to the actually indispensable activity of the Jesuit order in establishing and maintaining the colony of Brazil, refers to this incident in the following words: "They libel Mem de Sá and they libel themselves, in supposing that this retirement was not employed in obtaining information of the state of the country from the best politician in it."¹⁶ In this discussion a large part must have been played by Nóbrega, who was an adept in the psychology and lore of the natives as well as a great statesman, teacher, and preacher.¹⁷ Moreover, he had fully matured his ideas concerning colonial policy during eight years of governmental trial and error, four of de Sousa's noble experiments and four of da Costa's bungling futility. Furthermore, he had lived in every captaincy from Pernambuco in the north to São Vicente in the south—three years each in the vicinities of Bahia and São Vicente and the other two of the eight years in the other provinces.¹⁸ He entertained no delusions about this wilderness or its people, native, white, or Negro. Yet his theories of what should be done were both noble and practical. He believed that the country could be Christianized and civilized, but he recognized that European missionaries could never reach more than a few of the natives, and that European officials would

¹⁶ Robert Southey, *History of Brazil*, 3 volumes, London, 1810, I, 268.

¹⁷ Moraes, *Nóbrega*, 142, 147, 148, 152-154. The activity of the Jesuits among the Indians was threefold—piety, work, and recreation. They ministered to them religiously, they participated in native crafts and taught improved methods, and they shared in their games and dances. Mem de Sá fully appreciated the work of the Jesuits. He also realized that their means of support for carrying on their work, for their building, for their training of the Indians and assistant workers was very meager. He wrote immediately to the Crown for further subsidies and in 1559 the subsidy for the Jesuit college at Bahia came. *Documentos históricos*, XXXV, xvii, 429-431. For further knowledge of the activities of the Jesuits, the reader is referred to the articles in MID-AMERICA already cited, by Father Jacobsen and Dr. Espinosa. In this article their work is only touched upon. See also Serafim Leite, *História de Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 4 volumes, Lisbon-Rio de Janeiro, 1938-1943.

¹⁸ Nóbrega's itinerary during his twenty-one years in Brazil was briefly as follows: Bahia, March 29-November 1, 1549; Ilhéus, November 1-December 1549; Porto Seguro, December 25, 1549-early in 1551; Bahia, early in 1551-July 1551; Pernambuco, July 1551-January 1552; Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo, January 1552-end of 1552; São Vicente, January 1553-May 1556; Espírito Santo, Porto Seguro, Santo Amaro, May 1556-July 1556; Bahia, July 1556-January 16, 1560; São Vicente, February 1560-April 23, 1563; Among Tamoyos, Iperoig, April 23, 1563-June 21, 1563; São Vicente, June 21, 1563-March 19, 1564; Mission to Rio, March 19, 1564-April 19, 1564; São Vicente, April 1564-June 1567; Rio de Janeiro, July 24, 1567-October 18, 1570, with short return to São Vicente to get supplies and citizens for Rio. Data drawn from Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," 151-187.

have even less contact with them. He therefore held that the Portuguese should endeavor to convert and educate Indians, who as allies would go out as colonists and impart to the hostile tribes not only Christianity but also friendship for the whites and better ways of living. But the great obstacles to this noble scheme were the degradation of the colonists themselves and the savagery of the natives. Many of the settlers had come from the lowest levels of Portuguese society, nor had their standards been raised by their experience in the wilderness. Avid for gain and utterly unscrupulous, these men were in daily contact with brutal savages who but a few years before had been cannibals; moreover the economy of the colony was based upon slave labor. This was furnished not only by Negroes imported from Africa, but also by four distinct classes of Indians: first, individuals captured in arms against the whites and legally enslaved in punishment for their rebellion; secondly, persons sold into bondage by their own families; thirdly, free natives who had been illegally seized and sold by slave raiders; and finally, Christianized slaves in any of these classes who under the law were entitled to privileges of serfdom. This complicated system remained one of the most harrowing problems in the interracial relationships of the colony. It intensified the brutality of the whites and it inspired the Indians with hatred and a desire for vengeance against them.

Within the capital de Sá at once demonstrated his determination to establish law and order. He made no compromise with the prevailing anarchy and license. He threatened punishment and he carried out his threats; he penalized delinquents, set vagabonds to work, stopped gambling, and in general made all evildoers fear him. He abridged and codified the laws, interpreted them, and saw that justice was meted out in accordance with these interpretations. In particular he tried to prevent the Portuguese from scandalizing the Indians by practices more vicious than their own.¹⁹

He also attempted to raise the local economic standards. For the most part in this developing area opportunity for work and wealth was abundant but so were poverty and hunger. In accordance with the Crown's instructions, given to Duarte da Costa in 1555²⁰ and never carried out, Mem de Sá established a royal

¹⁹ *Cartas Jesuíticas*, II, 199-200, 203-205; *Cartas Jesuíticas*, I, 191-218; *Annaes*, XXVII (1906), 131-132. Southey gives a very vivid account of these Indian wars of the Bahia area, I, 268-270.

²⁰ *Documentos históricos*, XXXV, 321-324.

mill to help the smaller landholders. By this the poor planter and the King became partners, the former paying the fee for grinding with a portion of his produce. From this source alone, the governor boasts in paragraph 9 of his *Instrumento*, the Crown had drawn a profit of no less than 500 *arrobas*. To help the large mill owners, a royal letter of March 29, 1559, allows to each the privilege of importing, upon certification by the governor, up to a maximum of 120 slaves from the Congo, at a tax of only one third instead of the one half that had been customary.²¹ Thus the sugar industry, the chief source of wealth of this province at this period, was greatly benefited.

In his attitude toward the Indians, de Sá fully sympathized with Nóbrega's humane spirit but he was committed by circumstances to a stern policy. Upon his arrival he found the native tribes so completely out of hand that he had to use ruthless force against them. Cannibalism was again rife among the Indians around Bahia and Mem de Sá was resolved to stamp it out. The chief of the Island of Cururupeba, who defied his order, gave him his first opportunity to play his hand against this practice. Vasco Rodrigues de Caldas was sent in charge of an expedition against the island and the chief was made prisoner. Relentlessly, Mem de Sá pursued the primitive savagery of the Indians and subdued them to peaceful terms with the whites by razing their villages and killing many. Heartless though this may now seem, it cleared the outskirts of Bahia of hostile Indians who had so raided the outlying fazendas that terrorized landholders had fled to the city rather than cultivate their fields under such alarming circumstances. Mem de Sá conducted some of these expeditions against the Indians of the Bahia region in person, usually accompanied by the faithful Vasco Rodrigues de Caldas.²²

Yet despite the severity of these measures de Sá was always the Indians' protector against the abuses of the degraded white population. This earned the hatred of the latter. Some even of the landholding colonists, who found advantage not only in enslaving the Indians but also in encroaching upon their property rights, were equally unsympathetic with the attitude of the Jesuits toward the savages and the governor's cooperation with them in this direction. But Mem de Sá was never bothered by the number of his slanderers. In his pious devotion to the Faith

²¹ Francisco A. de Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil*, rev. ed., 4 volumes, São Paulo, 1927, I, 384.

²² Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil*, 2 volumes, São Paulo, 1939-1941, I, 268; *Annaes*, XXVII, 131-132; *Cartas Jesuíticas*, II, 203-205.

he saw the Indian through the eyes of the Jesuit fathers, but at the same time his judgment of what he saw was often dictated by his responsibilities as a soldier and a statesman.

He likewise shared Nóbrega's idea of *aldeia* life for the converted Indians and immediately approved of the organization of the smaller villages, already established by the Jesuits, into larger organized missions where the native inhabitants lived under native jurisdiction but also under the guidance of missionary teachers. Small settlements were brought together into one *aldeia*, under municipal officers chosen from and by the natives, but with the church as its center. The Provincial had advised Governor da Costa to do this but without result. The first establishment of the kind was an amalgamation of four or five villages into one on the Rio Vermelho, called São Paulo.²³ This gave far better protection to the Indians against both white and native incursions and the Jesuits took charge not only of the religious but also of the economic life. Agriculture and provision against the dangers of famine within the village were carried on under discipline. The food thus produced did not always suffice to protect Bahia from shortages (the city depended largely on independent landholders), but the *aldeia* system did produce sufficient for the natives' own needs and for barter with the Portuguese.²⁴ Perhaps the most important result was keeping the unscrupulous whites from stealing the food of the free Indians.

In the Bahia area the events of the first two years of de Sá's governorship were swift moving. Not only were the local non-Christianized Indians restive, but those in the captaincy of Espírito Santo were destroying fazendas, burning mills, and killing colonists ruthlessly. Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, the aged donatario, called for help, and early in the spring of 1558 the governor sent his son Fernão in charge of a punitive expedition with a fleet of six ships and 200 men. They entered by the Rio Cricaré and had easy work with the savages until the latter gained reinforcements. The superior Portuguese forces, however, were victorious, but the Indians killed Fernão de Sá, the leader. Thus within four months after his arrival in Brazil the son of the governor was sacrificed to the Indians. The natives were elated by their success in killing a person of such distinction, while Mem de Sá, stoic as he was at the loss of his son, was

²³ *Cartas Jesuíticas*, I, 177-190, Leite, *História*, II, 51; Espinosa, "Luiz da Grã," 197-208.

²⁴ Alexander Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery*, Baltimore, 1942, 105-119.

deeply grieved. With him sorrowed all of the colonists of Bahia.²⁵

His observation upon the inability of the captain of Espírito Santo to combat the Indians within his own province drew forth suggestions to the home government for reform within the captaincies. In the earliest of his three extant letters, that of June 1, 1558, after recounting the death of his son in the Indian wars he advises the Crown in the matter of administrative policy. He points out the grave danger of having elderly captains in charge where the most dangerous of the natives are in arms, and expresses his belief that these offices should be given to men of wealth who would appreciate the honor and be able and anxious to help in building up new cities like Bahia in the other provinces. A thriving city at Espírito Santo, he points out, would assure the Portuguese of retaining the land and provide greater protection against the French. He emphasizes the need of protection against the French seacoast patrolling and expressed his belief that armed ships were "the sinew of Brazil."²⁶

In the following year the Indians of Ilhéus and Espírito Santo again revolted against the whites, burning sugar mills and committing other atrocities. Then Mem de Sá decided to conduct the campaign in person. With Vasco Rodrigues de Caldas he made active and relentless warfare against the natives of the region, destroying their villages and killing all who resisted. At the same time a pestilence broke out in Espírito Santo that was fatal to many Indians and Negroes. At length the savages, completely broken in spirit, sued for peace, so that in September the governor could return in victory to Bahia. Soon, however, he had to set out again to quench a native revolt in the Paraguassu region, but this time with Indian allies to assist him. Again he burned villages and slew many of the hostile savages until the terrified Indians begged for peace.²⁷

Mem de Sá had been in Brazil for almost two years. In this time he had enjoyed no quiet moment. He had had to carry almost alone all executive responsibilities. Now a group of associates came to share his burdens. The character of these newcomers shows plainly that the Crown was at last taking the Brazilian situation with the utmost seriousness. The first to arrive was Bartolomeo de Vasconsellos da Cunha, *Capitão-mor*, who brought his fleet into the harbor of Bahia in November

²⁵ Calmon, *História*, I, 270.

²⁶ *Annaes*, XXVII, 225-226.

²⁷ J. Capistrano de Abreu, *Caminhos antigos e povamento do Brasil*, Rio, 1930, 89; Calmon, *História*, I, 270-271.

1559, with instructions to act under the governor's orders against the French at Rio.²⁸ He was followed on December 9 by Bishop Pedro Leitão, whose personal competence and nobility were to contribute so much to the welfare of the colony. The contrast between the new prelate and his predecessor, Sardinha, could hardly have been greater. Even a Don Duarte da Costa with a Leitão as his associate might have accomplished something, for this great churchman had every qualification for his office, combining pastoral zeal for work among the whites with missionary ardor for the conversion of the natives.²⁹ Moreover he was an old spiritual associate of Nóbrega and not only supported the Jesuits (to whom he brought seven new missionary members) but also the governor in his colonial policies. With the Bishop also came Braz Fragoso, the new *ouvidor geral* and *provedor môr de fazenda*, to supplant Pero Borges, who had been a troublemaker among the colonists since the days of Sousa.³⁰

Thus Mem de Sá had now not only organized a local government in Bahia but at last he had, in these new associates, a complete administrative staff for the whole colony and was prepared to embark upon further undertakings. As yet he had been unable to extend his authority south of the provinces of Espírito Santo and Ilhéus.

From a fugitive Frenchman, João de Boles,³¹ Mem de Sá

²⁸ Calmon, *História*, I, 274.

²⁹ Don Pedro Leitão had served in India before his appointment to the bishopric of Brazil. On the way to Bahia, it is of interest to note, he stopped some days in Pernambuco to visit his brother, Gonçalo Mendes Leitão, a rich proprietor and lord of the Paratibe mill, in the vicinity of Olinda. His visits to the province of Pernambuco, thereafter, were frequent. This captaincy had heretofore been isolated by its independence from the governor's control; Leitão was no doubt influential in bringing about greater unity. At least we know that after his coming Pernambuco began to send reinforcements to aid the whole colony. Leitão acquired many honorary offices during his term; he was very popular, able, and earnest in his pastoral duties. He visited every province from Pernambuco to Piratininga. *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico histórico e geographico Pernambucano*, XXXIII (1935), 287-289. For the independence of Pernambuco from centralized authority see Butler, "Thomé de Sousa," 248.

³⁰ *Documentos Históricos*, XXXV, xix, 412-415, and XXXVI, vi, 417-418, 438-455.

³¹ Jean des Boulez, or Joannes de Bolés, or Jean Cointa de Léry, came with Bois le Comte in 1557. He was expelled from the fort by Villegagnon and with other Frenchmen fled to the Fort of Olaria. In 1558 or 1559 he arrived at São Vicente. A clever freethinker, he got immediately into trouble with Grã over heresy, was sent north, stopped in Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, Pernambuco, and Bahia. There he informed Mem de Sá of conditions in Rio. In the expedition of 1560 he returned south with the governor's fleet, aiding the attack by his information. He was sent later to Portugal by the Bishop, was tried for heresy, was finally acquitted and went to India. *Cartas Jesuíticas*, III, 162-163; for his trial see *Annaes*, XXV (1903), 215-308.

knew that this was a particularly auspicious moment for an attack on the settlement at Rio. Villegagnon had quarreled with the Protestants, for whom he supposedly founded the colony. Recruits had been sent to him by his sovereign, and hence on discovering a conspiracy against his life, he had expelled the Protestants from the settlement. These had allied themselves with the Indians on the mainland and might be expected at any moment to overwhelm Fort Coligny, so Villegagnon, leaving only a small garrison to hold it, had sailed for France in October to obtain reinforcements.

When de Sá laid what he had learned from the Protestant refugee before his Council, it voted against immediate action on the grounds that he lacked sufficient forces for an offensive move against both the French and the hostile natives of the Guanabara district. But he felt that the explicit royal orders brought to him by da Cunha left no choice in the matter. Accordingly, with the approval of Leitão and Nóbrega, he decided to proceed with all the soldiers that could be spared from Bahia, supplemented by friendly natives and reinforcements from São Vicente.³²

Accompanied by Nóbrega and by his nephew, Estácio de Sá,³³ who commanded the galley Conceição, Mem de Sá, with a fleet of two ships and eight smaller vessels, sailed from Bahia on January 18, 1560, with 300 Portuguese and 2,000 Indian allies. He reached Guanabara Bay on February 21 hoping to take the French fort by a surprise attack at night. French sentinels, however, espied the Portuguese fleet and proceeded to make its arrival known. Mem de Sá anchored outside the bar awaiting the arrival of additional forces from São Vicente. By March 15, ships laden with stores, war canoes manned with Portuguese, mamelukes and native men who knew the warfare of the Tupinamba and Tamoyo Indians, arrived from the south. Mem de Sá attacked the fort, which by location and natural defenses was an unusually strong one. The assault lasted two days and nights. Many were killed and wounded, and the Portuguese ammunition was nearly exhausted. Mem de Sá decided upon a final assault; the French, without water or ammunition, were forced to surrender. The Portuguese demolished the fort after removing its artillery to their ships.³⁴

³² Calmon, *História*, I, 273-275.

³³ In April 1559, Mem de Sá appointed Estácio de Sá captain of the royal galley Conceição. *Documentos históricos*, XXXV, 455-457. Needless to say, he might have been accused, throughout his term, of nepotism.

³⁴ Calmon, *História*, I, 275-277; Felisbello Freire, *História da cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, I, 22-25.

Apparently Mem de Sá believed there would be no further resistance from the French in this region,³⁵ for he left no garrison but proceeded with his entire force to São Vicente. Arriving there on March 31, he sent his nephew Estácio with his second letter to the King. In this he mentions the victory at Rio and particularly cites the bravery of Bartholomeo da Cunha, as well as praising other captains and many of the people who gave meritorious service. Again he praises Bahia. The work of the Jesuits had gone on and they deserved special recognition for they had done well with the peoples. He had aided in building many churches. On the way south he visited several provinces. Ilhéus was in a bad state generally. Porto Seguro was all but depopulated by a pestilence. The chief weakness of the captaincies was that the *donatarios* were too old or, as in the case of the sons of Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, "three beardless boys," too young. Indeed Coutinho was begging the *ouvidor geral* to allow him to give up his donation and the women and children came to the governor and begged his protection and aid. As for São Vicente, its people were ready for revolt. Everywhere strong local government should be developed. Among the Indians the *aldeia* system was working; Indian local officers should be made responsible for their people and could be engaged at small consideration. He suggests clothing for the natives. Strong discipline was still required, bailiffs, pillories for truants from school, and comparatively greater punishment for more serious misdemeanors. De Sá's opinion concerning the population is tersely expressed: "The people of Brazil are *degradados*, evildoers, some of whom merit death." Still he viewed the final settlement with optimism. In his final paragraph he deplores the great personal expense to which he has gone to carry out his official duties and begs the Crown to appoint a successor and allow him to return to Portugal. "Sou velho, tenho filhos que andão desagasalhados . . ." ³⁶

His youthful representative, Estacio de Sá, remained in Portugal several years and presented the needs of Brazil at Court, especially urging the founding of a city at Rio de Janeiro.

The governor remained in São Vicente a few months to carry

³⁵ After their expulsion from Rio by Mem de Sá, many of the French fled to Recife. They built a fortification which they were soon forced to abandon by the donatario, Duarte de Albuquerque. They left engraved on a stone there a sentence concerning their fate, "Le monde va de pis en pis." *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geographico Pernambucano*, XXIII (1935), 300.

³⁶ *Annaes*, XXVII, 227-229.

out reforms, especially those advocated by the resident Jesuits. Coming directly from a victorious campaign against São Vicente's most powerful enemies, he was in a position to exert authority. He added to his popularity by the ceremonies of conferring knighthood and other special honors on the heroes of the recent expedition. Significant was his part in the removal of the settlement at Santo André to São Paulo de Piratininga. This was an important step in the development of what has since become the second largest and most important city of Brazil.³⁷

In June, his ships repaired and provisioned, he started with Luiz da Grã, the newly appointed Jesuit Provincial, for the north, leaving Nóbrega at São Vicente. On the way they touched at Victoria in Espírito Santo. There, after satisfying himself that this was the desire of the colonists, he revoked the rights of the donatario and incorporated the province in the Crown's dominion, appointing Belchior de Azeredo to govern it. Stopping briefly at Porto Seguro and Ilhéus, Mem de Sá arrived in the capital on August 29 in triumph, but again the peace was of short duration. The Aymores were preparing for war in Porto Seguro and Ilhéus and the non-aldeia Indians of the Bahia area were restive. In this region Mem de Sá undertook to extend his control inland as a protection against the encroachments of the savages of the *sertão*.³⁸

To the far north, the province of Pernambuco, apparently never visited in person by Mem de Sá, was suffering from similar Indian hostilities. Here Bishop Sardinha had been eaten by the Caetes, and ever since this tribe had been oppressed by an edict reducing all its members to slavery because of the heinous crime.³⁹ The *donatario* of Pernambuco had always been sufficiently powerful to wage his own wars. He had died in 1564 in Lisbon, and his wife, Brittes de Albuquerque, had governed the province in the absence of her two sons, who had returned to Portugal for education. Mem de Sá, realizing the dangers from the vengeful Caetes, sent for Duarte de Albuquerque Coelho, the elder son, who became the second donatario of Pernambuco. He returned with his brother, Jorge de Albuquerque, to Olinda in 1560 with the avowed purpose of combating the Indians. Although only twenty years old, the new *donatario* was able to rule well and his brother, who proved to be an excellent soldier,

³⁷ Serafim Leite, *Os Jesuitas na Vila de S. Paulo*, São Paulo, 1936, 18-23.

³⁸ Varnhagen, *História geral*, I, 387-388.

³⁹ *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Pernambucano*, XXIII (1935), 302.

took charge of the campaigns against the Indians. Mem de Sá did not, therefore, in this one province, have to aid either in administrative matters or in their protection. On the other hand this province later sent reinforcements, such as those of the southern provinces in the final reclamation of Brazil from the French.⁴⁰

To the south, in the meantime, the governor's imprudence of leaving Guanabara Bay without protection bore bitter fruit. The French who had escaped inland returned to the coast, not to resettle at Rio but to use it as their base of operations in inciting the Indians against the Portuguese. The Tamoyos led a confederacy of hostile tribes and combined with the French to threaten the south. Their first attack was against São Paulo de Piratininga. The inhabitants of the area fled and a general insurrection was imminent, but Piratininga was preserved by the aid of an Indian chief named Tibiriça or Martim Affonso, the man who had signalized himself so honorably at the siege of Fort Coligny. He now gave warning of the impending attack; loyal Indians from the surrounding area assembled in arms so that when the assault came on July 9, 1562, they held São Paulo through the two days' siege and thus saved it.⁴¹

Yet raids along the coast from Cabo Frio to Bertioga⁴² continued, and Nóbrega was convinced that only a mission of peace could reconcile the savages to the Portuguese colonists. He believed that if friendship could be established between the southern Tamoyos and the loyal Tupis of the São Vicente region, they might effectively be withdrawn from the influence of the Tamoyos and French of the Guanabara Bay region. Indeed so great were the dangers to life and property in São Vicente that some residents were inclined to abandon their homes and remove to a safer region. Nóbrega set out on his mission which was the last possible hope for peace on April 23, 1563, taking Anchieta, the great linguist, as his companion. In their letters these Jesuits recount the story of the months they spent with the Tamoyo Indians. They were taken to Iperoig, the center of the Tamoyo confederacy, by José Adorno, a Genoese landowner

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XLVIII (1896), 12-13. Pernambuco was a fast-growing province. Forty-five ships per year came to Olinda in sugar and brazilwood trade. Olinda, without counting the mills in the vicinity, had 700 families. There were 4,000 or 5,000 African slaves besides Indians in this province. Concerning the wars from 1560 to 1565 against the Indians, see *idem*, XXXIII (1935), 298-299.

⁴¹ Espinosa, "José de Anchieta," *loc. cit.*, 272.

⁴² Freire, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, I, 12.

of distinction, who was acceptable to the Indians. From May 5th until June, Nóbrega and Anchieta labored among them; then Nóbrega returned to São Vicente to conclude the peace. But Anchieta stayed on alone at Iperoig, serving as a symbol of the good faith of the Portuguese until peace was finally concluded in September.⁴³ Without the intervention of Nóbrega and Anchieta, the province of São Vicente would undoubtedly have been overrun and lost, for it was not strong enough to wage war alone against the fierce Tamoyo confederacy and Mem de Sá was in no position to send assistance.⁴⁴ Still, even with this treaty concluded, the final step for safe colonization had not yet been taken. The French and Tamoyos still controlled the region of Guanabara Bay and they had spread their influence to the Indians farther north so that the whole coast was in danger.

After a long delay Estácio de Sá, who had carried the news of the fall of Fort Coligny to Portugal, was sent back to Bahia in 1563 in command of two armed galleons, bearing orders for his uncle to renew his activities against the French, drive them definitely from the country, and found a Portuguese city at Rio. For a year preparations were made by Mem de Sá for this colonizing expedition.⁴⁵ Braz Fragoso, who had just returned from fighting Aymores in Porto Seguro, was to accompany Estácio. He was directed to get every help possible from all the provinces south of Bahia. Mem de Sá added as many vessels and men as he could spare to his nephew's forces and put him in command with orders to gain further reinforcements from São Vicente but warning him against antagonizing the southern Tamoyos with whom the peace of Iperoig had been concluded. Altogether Estácio de Sá had six ships of war, some light ships, nine canoes, and many Indians under Martim Affonso. Belchior de Azeredo, the newly appointed governor of Espírito Santo, also accompanied him.⁴⁶

Upon his arrival at Rio, Estácio anchored outside the bay and, in accordance with his uncle's instructions, sent word to Father Nóbrega repeating his request for immediate help from the south. While awaiting these reinforcements he explored the

⁴³ Espinosa, "José de Anchieta," *loc. cit.*, 40-50.

⁴⁴ Bahia, far distant, was inaccessible by land and communication by sea was long and difficult.

⁴⁵ Mem de Sá's great handicap at this time must not be overlooked. In 1583 a pestilence of variola desolated Brazil and Bahia in particular, and three quarters of the Indians were lost. This pestilence was followed by famine. Southey, *History of Brazil*, I, 294.

⁴⁶ Varnhagen, *História geral*, I, 390-396; Freire, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, I, 31; *Colonização*, III, ix.

bay and the neighboring Indian villages. As the coast was infested with numerous war canoes he realized that a land campaign was impracticable. The French were well fortified and amply protected by the Indians. He therefore decided to go himself to São Vicente for he was in a precarious position and knew that without help he would only sacrifice his own fleet to the enemy. Nóbrega, who arrived just as he was turning south, also realized the necessity for more adequate forces and returned with Estácio to São Vicente. After spending a long period in refitting the fleet and in assembling reinforcements, the latter, now accompanied by Anchieta, set out again on January 22, 1565. On March 1, the expedition was back at Guanabara Bay and took possession of a site called Pão de Assucar. There they began to work on a fortification. For a few months no opposition came from the enemy. On June 1, however, three French ships accompanied by thirty war canoes appeared. Estácio took the offensive. Though his 300 men were able to hold their own, they could not definitely defeat all of their hostile neighbors, so they lived in constant danger, always on the alert, and unable to carry out ordinary routines of life. It was necessary to send out for supplies, sometimes even to other captaincies. Late in 1565, Nóbrega arrived from São Vicente and, perceiving the gravity of the situation, sent Anchieta to inform the governor of the dangers of his nephew and his companions.

Fortunately Anchieta brought this news to Bahia just at a time when officials agreed that there should be a more powerful fleet and further reinforcements for the new settlement. On August 24, 1566, there arrived in Bahia a fleet of three galleons, sent from Portugal under the command of Christovão de Barros.⁴⁷ Mem de Sá,⁴⁸ fully aware of the critical situation at Rio, with the support of Bishop Leitão, called upon all the colonists for aid while the Jesuits roused the Indians. By these united efforts they were able to assemble a host of warriors and a good number of ships. At the end of November of 1566 Mem de Sá left Bahia in illustrious company. The Bishop had not yet visited any of the provinces except Pernambuco. He therefore joined the expedition as did also the Jesuit Visitor, Inacio

⁴⁷ Christovão de Barros was the son of the *donatario*, Antonio Cardoso de Barros. After the Rio de Janeiro campaign he returned to Portugal, then came back to Brazil as governor of Rio to succeed Salvador Correa de Sá, on October 31, 1571. Varnhagen, *História geral*, I, 420.

⁴⁸ It should be noted that on March 7, 1566, the Order of Christ was given to Mem de Sá, and to his nephew Estácio on the following day. Sousa Viterbo, *Estudos*, II, 55-56.

Azevedo, who had arrived with Christovão de Barros. Grã, the Jesuit Provincial, naturally accompanied the Visitor on his journey through the provinces. The governor stopped in Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and Espírito Santo to gather more forces and arrived at Rio on January 18, 1567. Reinforcements under Eleodoro Ebana Pereira had now arrived from the south. Two days later a general attack was made upon the French and Indians entrenched at Urugumirim and Paranapucui. Though the Portuguese were victorious, Estácio de Sá, the leader of the attack on Paranapucui, the last stronghold of the French in Brazil, was mortally wounded and died within a month.⁴⁹

Theoretically the modern city of Rio de Janeiro may be said to have been founded by Estácio on March 1, 1565, and named in honor of the young sovereign San Sebastião, but actually the location he chose was not a suitable one for permanent settlement. His uncle removed it to a site farther within the bay on higher ground. On this day of Saint Sebastian, January 20, 1567, the present city was refounded by Mem de Sá as São Sebastião de Rio de Janeiro.⁵⁰ The governor briefly describes his building of Rio de Janeiro in paragraph 23 of his *Instrumento*:

And because the place where Estácio de Sá had built was not more than a refuge in time of war, with the advice of the captains and other persons who were in the said Rio de Janeiro, I selected a site that seemed more convenient to build the city of St. Sebastian. This place was a great forest full of many large trees and it was considerable work to cut and clear the site and to build a great city surrounded by a barrier twenty palms wide and high all surrounded by a wall with many bulwarks and blockhouses full of artillery. And I built a church for the Jesuits where they now reside, tiled and well built and a cathedral with three aisles all tiled and well built, a two storied house for the *camara* tiled and large, a prison, customs houses and the treasury of Your Highness. two-storied and with verandas. And I gave orders and free aid for the building of many other houses tiled and two-storied. And while this was going on some of the chiefs, concealed among the many walls of the fortresses, revealed themselves whereupon I conquered them and many were killed which was the cause for many to come and beg peace. I had many settlers come and ordered that they be

⁴⁹ Varnhagen, *História geral*, I, 414-415.

⁵⁰ Rocha Pombo describes this settlement as a completely organized city, with all the usual officers of justice and administration. In 1565 and 1566 he granted more than fifty seismarias on the shore of Guanabara Bay. José Francisco da Rocha Pombo, *História do Brasil*, 10 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1905, III, 574-577.

stocked with cattle which is good for the city and there already has been great increase.⁵¹

The foundation ceremonies of the city were repeated in the new location, municipal officers appointed and a great number of *seismarias* granted in addition to those previously given by Estácio de Sá. All sorts of inducements were offered to draw colonists. *Aldeias* under the supervision of the Jesuits were established in the vicinity of the city; hostile Indians were driven away and their villages burned. The King had promised an endowment for a college in the new capital and after the Jesuit Visitor and Provincial had inspected São Vicente they returned to Rio on July 24, 1567, to choose the site for the college, of which Nóbrega was chosen first rector. The decision had also been made in São Vicente to remove the Jesuit center from that city to Rio de Janeiro.

Mem de Sá remained here for a year; then by an act of March 4, 1568, he transferred the government to another nephew, Salvador Correa de Sá.⁵² Though the unfriendly French and Indians withdrew only temporarily from the coast and hostile incursions followed, the dangers were now not much different from those at São Vicente or to a lesser degree at Bahia. Rio de Janeiro was now strong enough to maintain itself and the new settlement grew rapidly. Colonists of São Vicente contributed to its growth for they found greater advantages in this locality.

Mem de Sá at last turned northward, stopping in Espírito Santo to put down native uprisings. He finally reached Bahia where he remained for the rest of his life. He now felt old and weary and repeated the request which he had already made in 1560 for the appointment of a successor; he wished to end his days in Portugal. For nearly twelve long years of "blood, sweat, and tears" he had carried on the government with extreme physical exhaustion to himself and, he claimed, at great personal expense.⁵³ On October 5, 1569, he drew up his will, providing in the first clause for his burial in the monastery of Bahia, which he had helped to build, if need be, but requesting that his body be later removed to Lisbon to rest in the Church of San Francisco next to his wife.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Southey speaks of this with considerable irony. "The whole of the works were completed by the Indians under the Jesuits, without any expense whatever to the state." He goes on to discuss the foundation of the College and of the city. Southey, *History of Brazil*, I, 302-303.

⁵² *Revista do Instituto Hist. e Geog. do Brazil*, I (1856), 306.

⁵³ Sousa Viterbo, *Estudos*, II, 20-21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 26-35.

In the year 1570, Mem de Sá wrote his *Instrumento dos serviços* which has already been described. This year is also marked by the death of the governor's devoted and trusted counselor, Nóbrega, who for three years had been serving as rector of the College at Rio.⁵⁵

Luis Fernandes de Vasconcellos had been nominated on February 6, 1570, as the fourth governor of Brazil. But the fleet bringing him and his company, including Inacio Azevedo, the newly appointed Provincial, and a large reinforcement of Jesuits, was captured by pirates and all were killed. As no new appointment was made by the Crown until 1572, Mem de Sá had to continue in his office.⁵⁶

We have briefly recounted the chief events of the twelve years of Mem de Sá's most active and spectacular service. His pursuit of constructive administration was so interrupted by long periods of war against the Indians and the French intruders that it is almost lost amidst the glamor of his military prowess. Some of the policies of the colony were formulated by him during this last period. His turn to lawmaking reflects his colonial experiences. Varnhagen mentions the following: colonists who possessed as much as 400,000 milreis were obliged to own a musket, a pike, or a lance, a target or buckler, and a *capece* or helmet;⁵⁷ a provision of March 16, 1570, to encourage the sugar industry gave exemption for tribute to mills which were built within ten years to compensate for loss suffered through the lowering in value of copper coins. In a law of March 20, 1570, Mem de Sá went on in his attempt to define the position of the Indian in this new state.⁵⁸ Persons who enslaved captured Indian prisoners of war were obliged to report the circumstance within two months to the *provedores* of the district so that the legality of the captivity might be proven. Any Indian captive not so registered could be declared free.⁵⁹

Despite his zeal for protecting the natives, Mem de Sá seems never to have shown concern over the legal status of the African

⁵⁵ *Annaes*, XXVII, 129-218.

⁵⁶ Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," *loc. cit.*, 185.

⁵⁷ Each soldier in the militia of Rio de Janeiro, organized by Mem de Sá, was allowed three *vinhins* per day, "but only for the needy, because military service is a public duty." *Rev. do Inst. Arch. Pernambucano*, XXIII (1935), 234.

⁵⁸ On May 11, 1560, there had been a new regulation for the office of *mamposteiro* to redeem captives. This was instituted to protect the Indians. The following officials were appointed: Francisco Fragozo for Pernambuco, Pedro Leitão for Itamaracá, Onofre Pinheiro for Bahia, and Antonio Lopes Faleiro for Ilhéus. Varnhagen, *História geral*, I, 389.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 425.

slaves of whom he himself owned many. In view of the spirit of the times, such a program was, of course, futile. Yet, as a matter of fact, every check upon Indian slavery tended to increase the importation of Negroes, particularly in Bahia and in Olinda, which became the great entry ports and markets for slaves. As more land was settled, and as the trade in brazilwood gave way to the cultivation of sugar and cotton, the number of slave ships that plied the Atlantic was constantly multiplying, although the trade was not to reach its maximum until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when gold mines and diamond panning were developed.⁶⁰

Mem de Sá's opinion of the Portuguese residents of Brazil was not flattering. Yet his cultural and moral convictions made him labor earnestly to improve the conditions and circumstances which controlled the colonists' lives. In many ways he was a man ahead of his time. He not only wished to build suitable houses and streets, public buildings, cathedrals, and monasteries; he also endeavored to establish as many parish churches and schools as possible. It is difficult to picture the exact state of the settlements, but Gandavo de Magalhães, writing in 1570, has left some definite facts and figures. He thus describes a city:

As for dwellings, they are continually building better and more costly houses; for at first there were none in the country but one-story mud huts with roofs of palm leaves. Now they build two-story dwellings of stone and mortar with tiled roofs and wainscotted like those of this country. There are long and beautiful streets of them in most of the towns I have named [Rio de Janeiro and Bahia de Todos os Santos].

The majority of the inhabitants, however, had agricultural allotments, given by the captains or governor. Of these Gandavo says:

The first thing they try to obtain is slaves to work the farms; and

⁶⁰ "In the middle of the 16th century there was at Bahia an extensive importation of negroes from Africa. The Indians, accustomed only to primitive agriculture, were not so desirable as the negroes. They were not only inefficient but their endurance did not compare with the black slave labor. The exact time of the first appearance of negro slavery in Brazil is not known. It was before 1531, probably, Martim Affonso de Souza encountered a slave transport in the bay of Bahia. Compared with the traffic of the 18th and 19th centuries, when gold mining and diamond-panning in Minas Geraes and coffee raising in São Paulo became so abundant, the importation of African slaves for the sugar plantations was considerably less during the 16th and 17th centuries, but during this earlier period Bahia was the center and the slave trade continued uninterrupted from the beginning." Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, 31-32.

any one who succeeds in obtaining two pairs or half-dozen of them (although he may not have another earthly possession) has the means to sustain his family in a respectable way; for one fishes for him, another hunts for him, and the rest cultivate and till his fields, and consequently there is no expense for the maintenance of his slaves or his household. From this one may infer how very extensive are the estates of those who own two or three hundred slaves who have this number or more.⁶¹

Gandavo's figures are somewhat vague, but they do show something of the Portuguese population of Brazil in 1570. Marchant has tabulated them as follows:

Itamaracá	100 households	
Pernambuco	1000 "	23 sugar mills
Bahia	1100 "	18 " "
Ilhéus	200 "	8 " "
Porto Seguro	220 "	5 " "
Espírito Santo	180 "	1 " "
Rio de Janeiro	140 "	
São Vicente	500 "	4 " "

This totals 3,440 households and, according to Anchieta's estimate, Portuguese families ranged from six to twelve persons. If nine is taken as the average for Brazil in 1570, the colony had a population of approximately 30,960 Portuguese. The impossibility of estimating the number of natives is self-evident. The number of Negroes is also uncertain and the sudden rise in the importation of slaves at just this time makes it even more elusive.⁶²

Among many other matters discussed by Gandavo was the report on the expedition from Porto Seguro for the discovery of gold mines. Indeed this was as important a burden to Mem de Sá as it had been to his predecessors. It was merely an undertaking so overshadowed by other more important events that no mention has been made of several abortive attempts to explore the interior to find some of this precious metal which had been so easily discovered in the Spanish colonies. The first expedition was inspired by the accounts brought back by Francisco Bruza de Espinhosa who with twelve companions had started out on July 13, 1553, and penetrated 350 leagues inland. D. Vasco Rodrigues de Caldas, formerly *vereador* of the *Camara* of Bahia and one of the distinguished citizens of that city, leader of sev-

⁶¹ Pero de Magalhaes, *Histories of Brazil*, 2 volumes, New York, 1922, (facsim.) I, f. 15.

⁶² Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery*, 125.

eral campaigns against the Indians for Mem de Sá, asked in 1560 to be allowed to take over the Espinhosa enterprise. He believed that failure had been due to the fact that so few men went on the expedition and he promised to take a hundred with him. Mem de Sá's letter of December 24, 1560, gave him this privilege. The party went up the Paraguassú sixty or seventy leagues, but they found travel so difficult that this attempt also ended in failure.⁶³ The governor likewise granted Luis Martins permission to look for gold and took him to São Vicente with him in 1560 for this purpose.⁶⁴

He was joined by Braz Cubas⁶⁵ with whom he made his first invasion into the interior. But Braz Cubas fell ill so they went only thirty leagues. Martins renewed his efforts soon after with no greater success. The expedition described by Gandavo went inland in Porto Seguro for 220 leagues. This was in 1569 and 1570 under the leadership of Martim Carvalho, who was accompanied by fifty or sixty Portuguese and Indians. They found yellow grains which they were sure were gold but they had no means to test it. Without food or other supplies, they attempted to explore the mountains where they believed that they would find the metal in greater quantities, but they were driven back by hostile Indians. Many fell sick. They lost their samples of the yellow dust and, having spent eight months on the trip, they returned exhausted.⁶⁶

Mem de Sá died in Bahia after a long illness on March 2, 1572,⁶⁷ and was buried in the monastery. The property that he left and the disposition that he made of it show him to have been as careful in the administration of his private affairs as he was in that of his public office. Some of the provisions made in his will deserve mention here for the light which they throw upon conditions in this period, or upon his personal character.

He made his sugar plantation at Sergipe⁶⁸ an entailed estate which was to go to his son Francisco de Sá and his legitimate heirs, or if he died without issue, to his daughter Felipa and her descendants. If, however, both of these children should die with-

⁶³ Capistrano de Abreu, *Caminhos antigos e povoamento do Brasil*, 151, 155-157; *Cartas Jesuíticas*, II, 365; *Annaes*, XXVII, 231-233.

⁶⁴ *Annaes*, XXVII, 235-236; *Documentos históricos*, XXXV, xix, and XXXVI, 6-7.

⁶⁵ *Colonização*, III, 261.

⁶⁶ Magalhães, *Histories of Brazil*, 180-182.

⁶⁷ *Documentos Históricos*, XXXV, 410.

⁶⁸ The property of Sergipe was situated on the Bay of Todos os Santos, three and one-half leagues along the coast and four leagues inland and included two islands as well. Sousa Viterbo, *Estudos*, III, 8.

out legitimate heirs, and his son should leave illegitimate offspring by an unmarried white woman—"not a slave, a negress, a Hindu or Brazilian," they will inherit the entail, in every case male heirs taking precedence over female, nothing to be alienated from this entailed estate except to pay the ransom of an heir or to provide a marriage portion for an heiress. Whatever line the inheritance might follow the inheritor must adopt the family name of de Sá.

Casa do Pinheiro,⁶⁹ which he held as feudal proprietor in Portugal, he also left to his son. All of his unentailed property in Brazil or Portugal, including another sugar plantation in Ilhéus, various lands, slaves, cattle, outstanding accounts, plate, and other moveables, he divides equally between his son and daughter.

In the event that the line of descent thus prescribed became extinct all of his property in Brazil was to be sold and the returns divided into three equal portions, one third to Misericórdia of the city of Bahia, one third to the College of Jesus, and one third to the needy of that city, to be distributed at the discretion of the Jesuits. The property in Portugal was to go in a similar fashion to local charities.

He also left certain legacies to his friends and provided in great detail for his household servants—free, bond, and slave. Typical of these provisions is the following:

I leave to Diogo, slave, freedom, and if he wishes to live in Sergipe provision shall be made for his food, clothing, shoes, etc. If I die in Brazil I leave to Domingo Gomez his freedom after he serves five years in the mill of Sergipe or in Ilhéus. Also free Antonio Miz. I brought Diogo da Rocha with me from Portugal and he has given satisfaction in service. I have two slaves from Guinea—one is Antonio and the other Maria, who is in the hands of D^o. da Rocha. I give Antonio to my son and Maria to my daughter.

No person and no item seems to have been missed in this long and detailed will. A complete translation of the text would throw much greater light on the personality of its author.

The final disposition of Mem de Sá's properties would have met with his approval. The son died soon after his death and the residue, after his daughter's death without heirs, was left by her for the use of the Jesuit Order.

⁶⁹ Sousa Viterbo, *Estudos*, II, 16, 43-45. On July 10, 1534, there was recorded a royal grant of the "Casal e capella do Pinheiro," which was for three generations, to Mem de Sá and his wife jointly, the survivor to name a successor and this successor in turn to name the third holder.

This brief survey of the career of Mem de Sá may well close with a paraphrase of its beginning. His administration covered a critical period in Brazilian history. When he took office the colony was on the verge of disaster; when he died, still in office, its future progress was certain. In a large part his success may be attributed to the new policies of the Crown and to the high qualities of his associates, but these by themselves might have failed without his integrity, intelligence, and talent. When his accomplishments are seen in historical perspective, there can be no doubt about his place among the world's great colonial governors.⁷⁰

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⁷⁰ Father Anchieta wrote an heroic poem, *De rebus gestis Mendi de Sa praesidis in Brasilia*, which unfortunately has never been published. The manuscript still existed in 1936, in the possession of the Zuazola family, of Algorta, in Biscay. Leite, *História*, II, 534.

El Rio Del Espiritu Santo

(Continued from January)

VI

As we saw, the Chaves map of Florida, or a simplification of it was very frequently reproduced by European mapmakers from 1584 to 1625, the year when Johan De Laet published a very different map of the Southern United States in his *Nieuwe Wereldt*.¹

De Laet was an industrious compiler, whose intention was "to give his fellow-citizens as perfect a description of the New World as circumstances would allow."² He made use of what he considered to be the best works then in print and gave references to his sources. Thus the chapter on Florida in his book is based on Gómara, Wytfiett, Herrera,³ and Linschoen,⁴ but for all that pertains to the subject of our investigation, his main source is Herrera, whose account of the De Soto expedition he summarized.

¹ There are four editions of this work, two in Dutch, one in Latin, and one in French. I have been unable to consult the first edition, *Nieuwe Wereldt Ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*, . . . Leyden, 1625. "This invaluable work was much improved in the subsequent editions and translations by the author, but the maps were unchanged," J. Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, X, 1878, 15. The same plates were used for the last three issues. According to Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, 417, the difference between the first and the second editions consists in a slightly changed title. This second edition was published at Leyden, 1630. Three years later, also at Leyden, the Latin edition appeared, *Novus Orbis, seu Descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis Libri XVIII*; and in 1640, in the same town, the French edition, *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes Occidentales Contenant dix-huit Liures* . . ., was published.

² Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 417. Cf. also J. F. Jame-son, *Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664*, New York, 1909, 31-35.

³ A. Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra firme del Mar Oceano* . . . *En quatro Decadas desde el Ano de 1492 hasta el de 1531*, 2 volumes, Madrid, 1601. Bound in the second volume is the *Descripcion de las Indias occidentales*, with a special title page, also dated Madrid, 1601. Four more decades, in two volumes, were published at Madrid in 1615. The De Soto expedition is narrated in the sixth and seventh decades.

⁴ In the bibliography of the 1630 edition, De Laet lists *Ian Huyghen van Linschoten Beschrijvinghe van America*, and in the edition of 1640, he gives *Briefue description de l'Amerique par Hugues de Linschot*. I have not seen the Dutch edition of Linschoten, I used the *Description de l'Amerique & des parties d'icelle, comme de la Nouvelle France, Floride, des Antilles, Iucaya, Cuba Iamaica*, . . . Amsterdam, 1619. No author is given, but the book is bound in with *Le Grand Routier de Mer, De Iean Hvgves de Linschot Hollandois* . . . *Nouvellement traduit de Flameng en François*, Amsterdam, 1619.

We must therefore turn to this source in order to explain De Laet's map of Florida.

Herrera's position as official historian, which he held during the reign of three Spanish monarchs, gave him access to documents which he could not otherwise have secured. Thus the maps which he published in his *Descripcion de las Indias* are those of López de Velasco, and the text describing America is copied directly from a summary⁵ of the latter's *Geografia y Descripcion Universal de las Indias*. To this summary Herrera added "some commentaries of an historical character, and considering the ideas of the time, he believed that by so doing he was rendering a service to the readers of his *Historia de las Indias*."⁶ When he came to narrate the De Soto expedition, however, Herrera summarized the romantic and inaccurate narrative of Garcilaso de la Vega,⁷ which is the least useful of all for what pertains to the geography of Florida; and De Laet either summarized Herrera's text or else translated it verbatim.

De Laet's conception of the Southern United States, as expressed by his map entitled *Florida et Regiones Vicinae*, was made widely known by Sanson's map of North America published in 1650.⁸ A cursory comparison of these two maps makes it clear that Sanson transposed De Laet's Florida on a general map of North America, and also used De Laet's map as the basis of his special map of Florida of 1656. During the next seventeen years, until the discovery of the Mississippi in 1673, most people relied for their knowledge of Florida on this 1656 Sanson map or on some reissue thereof.

On De Laet's map of Florida the Gulf Coast line is shown only as far as the R. de Montañas; the name of this river, however, is not inscribed on the map. The remaining section of the coast line to Rio Pánuco is on another of De Laet's maps in the *Nieuwe Wereldt*, entitled *Nova Hispania, Nova Galicia, Guatimala*. The nomenclature is that of earlier sea charts of the Gulf, but many legends are omitted.

The first of these two De Laet maps shows the hinterland

⁵ Compare the text in *Descripcion de las Indias*, p. 20, with the summary published in Pacheco and Cardenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, XV, 442.

⁶ *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos*, Madrid, 1934-1936, 5 volumes published, the *Descripcion* and the first four decades, I, Proemio, lxxvi.

⁷ *La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, . . . escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega*, Lisbon, 1605.

⁸ *Amerique Septentrionale*, Par N. Sanson d'Abbeville Geog. du Roy, Paris, 1650.

up to latitude 38°, that is, up to about halfway between the mouths of the Ohio and of the Missouri. In the area bounded on the north by that line, on the east by the meridian of the east coast of the Floridan peninsula, on the south by the Gulf, and on the west by the Bahía del Espíritu Santo meridian, the course of thirteen rivers is drawn, seven of which empty directly into the Gulf, and six into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo; the latter bay being situated, as on all the early maps, in the northwest corner of the Gulf. Of these thirteen rivers, only three are named, R. de Flores, R. de Nieves, and R. del Spiritu Santo. This last river, however, does not empty into the bay of that name, but has its mouth slightly above latitude 29°, on the east side of Tacobago Bay, *i. e.*, Apalachee Bay, near the position of present-day Suwannee River.

As far as De Laet knew, there were two Bahías del Espíritu Santo in the Gulf of Mexico. Nearly all the maps which he could have seen indicated a bay of that name in the northwest corner of the Gulf, and the text of Herrera explicitly stated that De Soto landed at a bay called Bahía del Espíritu Santo, which was situated on the west coast of the Floridan peninsula. It would seem as though De Laet instructed his draughtsman, Hessel Gerritsz, to avoid duplicating the names of the bay and of the river. In his description of the coast, he wrote: "From Tampa to the Baye du St. Esprit, there are thirty leagues, and this bay is called Tocobaga; it is said to be at latitude 29° 30'."⁹ The earlier Dutch text has a third name for this bay: Bahía de Miruelo;¹⁰ and in the following chapter, which is simply a copy of a passage in Linschoten, there is a fourth name, Ancon Baxo,¹¹ for the eastern Bahía del Espíritu Santo.

At the time when De Laet was preparing the French edition of the *Nieuwe Wereldt*, this variety of names for the same bay and the identity of names for two bays at both corners of the Gulf must have appeared puzzling to him. He noted that from west Florida to the Rivière des Palmes, a distance of 300 leagues, there were few named landmarks:

⁹ *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde*, 130.

¹⁰ "Ende noch soo veel [scl. thirty] leguen voorder [than the Bahia de Carlos also called Bahía de Iuan Ponce de Leon] de Bahia de Tampa, dry-en-dertych leguen von Tocobaga, die men anders noemt del Espiritu Santo, ofte de Meruelo, op de hooghte van neghen-en twintich graden en een half"; *Nieuwe Wereldt*, 1630 edition, 167.

¹¹ "De punkt van Florida heeft in de breedte twintich mijlen ende van daer tot Ancon Baxo; zijn hondert mijlen welck is gheleghen vijftich mijlen oost ende west met Rio Secco, welck de groote breedte is van Florida"; *ibid.*, 168.

From Tocobaga, which seems to be called Ancon Baxo, to the riviere des Neges, commonly called Rio de Nieuves, there are one hundred leagues; and from the riviere des Neges to the riviere des Fleurs, twenty leagues or more. From the riviere des Fleurs to the Baye du S. Esprit (which must be different from the preceding one) or Culata, as it is commonly known, there are seventy leagues. . . .¹²

This description of the coast is nothing else than that of Linschoten—itself a direct translation of Gómara's text—in which De Laet inserted the alternative Tacobaga for Ancon Baxo, a new name which he read in Herrera who had it from López de Velasco. Besides, in the French text, De Laet failed to give the width of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, though this was specifically mentioned as thirty leagues by both Gómara and Linschoten.¹³

In view of all this, De Laet's map of Florida and the text which it illustrates can hardly be considered valid documentary evidence that the Mississippi was the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers. The Mississippi is certainly not the Rio del Espíritu Santo which is marked as emptying into the Gulf on the east side of Apalachee Bay, and, of the six rivers which are shown emptying into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo in the northwest corner of the Gulf, not one is named. The Mississippi cannot be identified from the names of towns and provinces on the banks of one of these six rivers, for no towns are marked on five of them, and only along the easternmost river formed by two branches coming from the northeast did the mapmaker inscribe place names. On the banks of the eastern branch of this easternmost river, there appear the names of two towns, Aminoja [Aminoya] and Guacacoya [Guachoya], which we know were on the Mississippi, because Elvas has them on the Rio Grande and Garcilaso de la Vega has them both on the Chucagua. But we cannot conclude that the branch whereon they are here marked is the Mississippi, because on the western branch of this same river, De Laet has marked the four towns, Guaxule, Yachiaha, Acoste, and Coza, which we know for certain were east of the Mississippi, not west of it as here.

De Laet quite realized how difficult it would be to draw a map

¹² *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde*, 130.

¹³ Cf. Gómara, *Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias*, 1553², fol. viii; Pacheco and Cardenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, XV, 442; Herrera, *Descripción de las Indias*, 20; Linschoten, *Description de l'Amerique*, 7, 13; De Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt*, 1630 edition, 167-168.

of the interior by means of the various accounts of explorers to which he had access:

The [French] and the [Spaniards] have given us such a sketchy knowledge [of Florida] (except insofar as the coast is concerned) and such confused data, especially with regard to the interior, that we are forced against our intention to make use here of the history of the events and of the routes followed by the explorers. For a knowledge of the Spanish expeditions we shall mainly make use of the *Decades* of Anthoine de Herrera.¹⁴

He then proceeds to narrate, in the following pages, the expeditions of Ponce de León, Ayllón, Narvaez, and De Soto, according to Herrera's account.

The confusion spoken of is reflected on his map of Florida, the elements of which are derived from various quarters. Thus the delineation of the Floridan peninsula is taken from the map of Herrera in the *Descripcion de las Indias*; the delineation of the northern Gulf Coast is similar to that of the old Spanish sea charts, while its nomenclature is derived from Gómara and Linschoten. The course of the rivers is purely imaginary, especially that of the six rivers emptying into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo. There is absolutely no basis either in Herrera or in any of the accounts of the De Soto expedition for this fanciful hydrography, and the Herrera place names, as copied by De Laet in his text, are inserted at random. For instance, instead of indicating the westward march of De Soto's army by placing the Indian villages to the west of Tascalusa, the mapmaker inscribed them along a southwest-northeast line from Tascalusa to Capaha, and he inserted the names of the other western Indian villages within the ellipse formed by the plotted route from Hirrihigua to Tascalusa. Thus two of the westernmost towns, Guancane [Lacane] and Naguatex, are located due north of Apalachee Bay, instead of along the 94th meridian, which, at this latitude, means that the mapmaker placed these towns 600 miles east of their true position.

The reason for this original interpretation of De Soto's route is that Herrera's text is quite obscure with regard to directions, especially after the expedition reached Tascalusa. De Laet would have been able to give a better representation of the interior had he made use of the original text of Garcilaso de la Vega so poorly abridged by Herrera; but although he had de la Vega's history of Peru, he does not seem to have had his *Florida*. Our present

¹⁴ *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde*, 103.

concern, however, is not to explain why the De Laet map is inaccurate, but simply to show that it affords no evidence by which the Rio del Espíritu Santo can be identified as the Mississippi.

All the details of the interior on De Laet's map of Florida were inserted in the map of North America published by John Blaeu in his atlas of 1642, and reissued in his atlas of 1653.¹⁵ The basic map which he used is one of the earlier sea charts issued by his father, Willem Blaeu.¹⁶ Since this basic map was different from that used by De Laet, Blaeu's map contains fuller nomenclature along the Gulf Coast than is found on De Laet's, and for the same reason the smallest of the six rivers emptying into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo and nameless on De Laet's map is legended Rio del Espíritu Santo on Blaeu's map.

De Laet's conception of Florida exerted an indirect influence on the cartography of the Southern United States, because, as we have already mentioned and we shall now see in detail, this conception was embodied in Sanson's maps, specifically in those of 1650 and 1656, which had a very wide circulation.

On the earlier of these two maps the nomenclature of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo agrees with that found on the Blaeu map. East of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, however, Sanson made two changes. He omitted De Laet's Rio de Nieuws, and

¹⁵ America Septentrionalis in *Nouveau Theatre du Monde ou Novvel Atlas*, 3 volumes, Amsterdam, 1642, III, Part 2; and in *Nuevo Atlas*, Amsterdam, 1653, II. According to Phillips in Lowery, *A Descriptive List*, 139 and 146, this map was first published in the 1639 edition of Hondius' *Nouveau Théâtre du Monde*.

¹⁶ The name of this distinguished family of map engravers and publishers was Janszoon; Jansz. is the abbreviated, Janssonius the Latinized form. In his "Descriptive Catalogue of Maps published separately by Blaeu," Wieder, *Monumenta Cartographica*, III, 69, wrote: "c. 1617. Pas-kaart van Guinea . . . Gedrukt by Willem Jansz. Blauw inde Sonnewyser. . . . As the name 'Blauw' occurs on it, this must be the first occasion of his using it on a map; the first dated map which has 'Blau' added to the patronymic 'Jansz' is one of Holland dated 1621. It is still an open question when exactly Blaeu began to add the name Blaeu to his patronymic . . . The 1617 Globe has the patronymic only, whereas the augmented editions of those earlier maps all bear the name of Blaeu." The founder of this firm, Willem Janszoon, signed Blaeu only once, he generally spelled his adopted name Blauw or Blaeuw, but his sons and grandsons wrote Blaeu. The reason why Willem Janszoon added this name to his patronymic was to distinguish his firm from that of Jan Janszoon who opened a bookshop at Amsterdam after 1618, "Aangezien de winkels van Guilielmus Janssonius (Blaeu) en van Johannes Janssonius in el-kanders nabijheid, op het Water stonden, en beider firma's zich voor een groot gedeelte op het gebied der aardrijkskunde bewogen, moest een en ander aanleiding geven tot vergissingen, die Blaeu, door de bijvoeging van zijn geslachtsnaam, schijnt te hebben willen voorkomen." P. J. H. Baudet, *Leven en Werken van Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, Utrecht, 1871, Bijlage I, Geslachtsnaam Blaeu, 117-119.

altered Blaeu's C. Escondido to "C. Escondido R.," thus making this cape both a cape and a river. This change is a trifle in comparison with the alterations observable on Sanson's 1656 map, which is truly a cartographical freak, as will be seen directly. On the 1650 map also, as on Mercator's planisphere, Florida is bounded by a mountain range running east-west for about fifteen degrees, then north-south down to latitude 30°, where the direction of the range is again toward the west. The inland nomenclature is that of De Laet, with an occasional omission, and with variations in the location of the Indian villages. With regard to the Rio del Espíritu Santo, what we said in the analysis of the De Laet map applies here also.

Sanson's map of 1656 includes the Southern United States, and is entitled *Le Nouveau Mexique et la Floride: Tirees de diverses Cartes et Relations*.¹⁷ His indiscriminate insertion of geographical data "derived from various maps and relations" does little credit to his standing as a geographer and still less to his critical sense.

Not to mention duplication of names along the Gulf Coast and arbitrary positions of capes and rivers, the most astonishing features of this "up-to-date" map are the nomenclature of the interior and the hydrography of Florida, and these features result from the fact that he simply superimposed the Chaves map published by Ortelius in 1584 on the map of De Laet of 1625. It is quite evident that he did not study the relations mentioned in the title of his map and that the map is not "derived" from them at all. Sanson's aim seems to have been not to give as accurate a representation as possible of the area, but to publish a new map different from those then on the market. The following analysis shows how successfully he accomplished his purpose.

The mountain range encircling Florida is taken from Mercator's planisphere of 1569; the names of the two provinces north of these mountains, Calicuas and Capachi, are taken from the 1570 Ortelius map of the Americas, as is the legend "Suala M.," the western arm of the mountain range. This nomenclature first appeared on the Cock map mentioned in a previous section, whereon Monte Suala is the hilly country around Xuala or Xualla spoken of by the chroniclers of the De Soto expedition. For some

¹⁷ For all that pertains to Florida, there are but slight differences between this map and that entitled "La Floride," which Sanson published in his *L'Amerique en plusieurs cartes*, Paris, 1657. The latter map is smaller and the anonymous engraver's skill was inferior to Somo, the engraver of the map of 1656.

unaccountable reason Cock placed these mountains fifteen degrees west of their actual position, and Ortelius' map repeats this error. Not content with copying this mistake, Sanson inserted another Xuala in the eastern part of Florida at about the place where this name appears on the De Laet map. Calicuas, as we saw when discussing Cock's map, is a variant for Coligoa or Coligua of the early chroniclers, which is the same as Garcilaso de la Vega's Colima. Sanson was quite unaware of this fact; for, besides representing Colima as a town 150 miles due north of our Apalachee Bay, just as it appears on De Laet's map, he inserted Calicuaz as the name of a province, 700 miles northwest of the town.

More absurd still are the reduplications resulting from his superimposition of the Chaves nomenclature on the De Laet map. Thus while retaining Quigate at approximately the same position as on the De Laet map, he inserted Quigata seven degrees farther west as it appears on the Chaves map. Not realizing that Ychiaha of De Laet and Chiacha of Chaves were one and the same town, Sanson kept them both, at a distance of 150 miles from each other. He also retained De Laet's Acoste and Chaves' Coste; but his most ridiculous blunder is the reduplication of Naguatex. Sanson inscribed it on his map at about the same position as on the De Laet map, that is, fifty miles west of Achalague, four degrees north of the mouth of the Rio Grande; and then repeated it a second time as on the Chaves map. If we extend a perpendicular due north from the middle of the Mar pequeña, the nomenclature west of this line is exactly that of the Chaves map, and this nomenclature is duplicated east of this line because all the Chaves towns are situated there on De Laet's map faithfully copied by Sanson.

Further evidence that Sanson did not study the relations from which his 1656 map is allegedly derived appears from comparing his location of certain towns with their position as described in these relations. A few examples will suffice. According to all the chroniclers of the De Soto expedition, the towns of Tula, Coligoa, Lacane, and Autiamque (which Garcilaso de la Vega calls Colima, Guancane, and Utiangue, respectively) are located beyond the Mississippi. Sanson, however, placed them all ten degrees east of the Mississippi on a north-south line perpendicular to the mouth of the Rio Grande, which, according to him, empties into the Gulf at the western end of Apalachee Bay. Pacaha, an Indian village which the chroniclers located on the Mississippi

between the Arkansas and the St. Francis rivers, was placed by Sanson about six degrees farther east, as on the De Laet map, due north of our Cape San Blas, somewhere in Cleburne County, eastern Alabama.

Sanson's hydrography of the Southern United States is no less spectacular than his naming and placing of towns. After reproducing De Laet's network of rivers, he superimposed thereon all the western rivers found on the Chaves map. The result of this combination can easily be imagined. Next he undertook the business of rechristening these rivers. Along the northern Gulf Coast, reading from east to west, we find first, as in De Laet, a large Rio del Espíritu Santo emptying into the bay of Tacobaga, Apalachee Bay. Then comes a river called "S. M. de Ochus," a name given by some Spanish mapmakers to Pensacola Bay. After this there is an unnamed river, and finally a river which Sanson arbitrarily called Rio Grande, the name given to the Mississippi in the relations. This Rio Grande which empties into Apalachee Bay, as do the three other rivers just mentioned, is a combination of two nameless rivers which appear on De Laet's map, and in spite of its name, it is a small river in comparison with the other three. It is still more insignificant in comparison with the rivers to the west of it emptying into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo. There are six of these rivers, all left nameless by De Laet, and all but the westernmost of them have the same course as on De Laet's map. Sanson named two of them: the easternmost he calls Rio de Canaveral, which is Chaves' name for a river that empties directly into the Gulf,¹⁸ for the westernmost he repeats the name Rio del Espíritu Santo. The southern course of this river is copied from De Laet; its northern course, which is not shown on De Laet's map, is taken from Chaves, and includes three large tributaries coming from the northeast and cutting across one of the two unnamed rivers that empty into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Even with these tributaries, this second Rio del Espíritu Santo of Sanson is much smaller than his Rio de Canaveral.

It does not seem necessary to prolong this list of cartographical "howlers." The interested reader can readily add many more of them by placing side by side the maps of Chaves, of De Laet,

¹⁸ Sanson was so anxious to make full use of his sources that, east of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, near the mouth of another river left nameless by De Laet, he repeated the legend R. de Canaveral. That this is the same river which appears at this place on De Laet's map may readily be seen from the delineation of its course as well as from the names of the two towns on its banks, Achussi and Tascalusa.

and of Sanson. From what we have said, it should be clear that in the middle of the seventeenth century no European who consulted the maps of the most famous cartographer of the day could have been justified in concluding that the greatest of all rivers emptying into the Gulf on the northern coast was called Rio del Espíritu Santo. And anyone nowadays, either in Europe or in America, who carefully compares these maps with the sixteenth-century accounts of travels in the Southern United States, will almost certainly find it impossible to identify the Mississippi with the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers.

We have already noted that De Laet's nomenclature of Florida is taken from the Herrera text, in turn a summary of Garcilaso de la Vega's narrative of the De Soto expedition. We also called attention to the obscurity of Herrera's text with regard to the route of the De Soto army, and the consequent difficulty of mapping this route through Florida. By means of the narratives of Biedma, Ranjel, and Elvas, taken in conjunction with our knowledge of the geography of the Southern United States, modern American students have been able to plot the route of the expedition with a fair degree of approximation. Geographers and mapmakers of the seventeenth century lacked not only our modern knowledge of this territory, but also the narratives of Biedma and Ranjel. De Laet's map, as we have seen, is ultimately based on an abridged version of Garcilaso de la Vega, and the Chaves map is the cartographical expression of an account which did not essentially differ from that of the Gentleman of Elvas. Sanson's 1656 map is therefore the only attempt made, prior to Claude Delisle, to harmonize the geographical data of these two accounts. How successful was this attempt, the reader is now in a position to judge.

In the last decade of the seventeenth century Delisle used a French translation of the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas, and a French adaptation of Garcilaso's narrative¹⁹ for his drafts of the route of De Soto.²⁰ Of this adaptation it has been truly

¹⁹ P. Richelet, *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride ou Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la découverte de ce Pays par Ferdinand de Soto*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1670.

²⁰ Cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," in *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 280-283. The map showing the route of De Soto was published by Claude's son under the title *Carte de la Louisiane et Cours du Mississipi . . . Par Guill^lume Delisle de l'Académie R^le des Scien^{ces}*, Paris, 1718. The manuscript of this map is reproduced in Sara J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, volume II, Scientific Papers, Illinois State Museum, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Illinois, 1942, pl. XV.

said: "To anyone at all acquainted with the courtly ponderosity of Garcilaso's production which is about two and a half times as long as the other three narratives combined, the condensation by Richelet, the only attempt to publish a translation in any language is little other than a work of genius."²¹ A comparison between the Spanish and French texts, we may add, shows that in abridging the long-winded Garcilaso, Richelet exactly reproduced all the place names, directions, distances, and other pertinent geographical details.

Now we read in Garcilaso's original narrative that after leaving Alibamo, De Soto's army came upon a great river. This "because it was the greatest of all those our Spaniards saw in Florida was called by them Rio Grande and was not given any other name"; that is to say, it was called the great river par excellence, and was not called Rio del Espíritu Santo. He then goes on to give the Indian name of this Rio Grande: "Juan Coles [a member of the De Soto expedition and one of Garcilaso's three informants] says in his relation that this river is called Chucagua by the Indians."²² And, let us note, nowhere in Garcilaso's narrative of the De Soto expedition is this Chucagua identified with the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

In 1674 a map was published in Paris which is the cartographical expression of Richelet's adaptation of Garcilaso de la Vega.²³ According to the title, the author of this map is the "Sieur Sanson." It cannot be Nicolas Sanson, for he had been dead seven years when the map appeared, and there is good reason to believe that it was not drawn until after 1670, the year of the publication of Richelet's condensation, three years after Nicolas' death. For instance, in a map of North America published in 1669 under the name of Guillaume Sanson,²⁴ we find exactly the same nomenclature and hydrography of Florida as on the 1656 map which we analyzed above. The author of the

²¹ *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 8.

²² *La Florida del Ynca*, f. 229. The Spanish text and Richelet's condensation of this passage may be seen in Barbara Boston, "The Route of De Soto: Delisle's Interpretation," *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, 1939, 281, note 16; Herrera's summary of the passage will be found *ibid.*, note 17.

²³ *Amerique Septentrionale . . . Par le S^r Sanson, Presentee a Monseigneur le Dauphin Par . . . Hubert Jaillot*, [Paris], 1674. Until 1670, Pierre Mariette had been the Sansons' publisher; but about this time, Hubert-Alexis Jaillot, a sculptor who had recently taken over his father-in-law's map publishing business, became acquainted with the Sanson brothers. Thereafter the latter entrusted to Jaillot the publication of their maps. Cf. F. Roland, *Alexis-Hubert Jaillot, Géographe du Roi Louis XIV (1632-1712)*, Besançon, 1919, 11.

²⁴ *Amerique Septentrionale . . . Revüe et Changée en plusieurs endroits . . . Par G. Sanson*, . . . Paris, 1669.

1674 map was therefore one of Nicolas Sanson's two sons, Guillaume or Adrien.

The question of its authorship is relatively unimportant. What matters is the fact already noted: that it is the cartographical expression of Garcilaso de la Vega as adapted by Richelet. With regard to the geography of Florida, although still inadequate and much inferior to the narratives of Elvas and Ranjel, this text is so much more complete than the Herrera summary that it enabled the mapmaker to avoid the glaring mistake of mislocating the Indian towns and villages as De Laet had done.

The basic map used by the draughtsman is one of the numerous representations of the continent which were then on the market. Although we are more concerned with the nomenclature, and especially with the hydrography of Florida than with its orography, a brief description of the orography on this map is given here, because of its influence on later explorers of the Mississippi Valley and on European theorists of its geography.

As on all the other maps made since the middle of the sixteenth century, Florida is surrounded by a mountain range, but with the following difference: instead of being completely shut off from Canada, there is a four degree gap southwest of Lake Erie, in the northern section of this range, between the "Apalache M." and longitude 288°. Beginning again at this point, the range follows the fortieth parallel westward to longitude 273°, then turns south to the 27th parallel, whence it runs in a northwesterly direction to longitude 263°, and continues thereafter toward the north-northeast. The northern section of this range serves as the boundary between Florida and Canada; the western section separates Florida from Quivira, which latter province is indicated as a subdivision of New Mexico. From latitude 27°, at the point where the mountain range turns to the northwest, to latitude 25°, a dotted line along the 270th meridian marks the boundary between New Biscaye and Florida, and another dotted line drawn eastward from this same point to the Gulf Coast separates Florida from the Province of Pánuco.

An examination of the rivers represented on this map will show beyond doubt that the Rio del Espíritu Santo cannot be identified with the Mississippi. There are two rivers on the map which correspond to the Rio del Espíritu Santo found on maps already analyzed. One, which is left nameless, flows due south from the Apalache country into the Gulf on the east side of Apalachee Bay, just east of a river twice as long, which is marked "Rio

Grande." This unnamed river is clearly the same as the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the 1656 Sanson map. The name "Rio Grande" is also borrowed from the Sanson map, though its course is not the same as Sanson's Rio Grande. The second Rio del Espíritu Santo on this map is one of four rivers emptying into the inevitable Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and is clearly legended. Of these four, the easternmost is named Chucagua, and its gigantic size gives evidence that it is indeed the Chucagua of Garcilaso de la Vega, the true Rio Grande of the Spaniards, and our Mississippi. In comparison with it, the river labeled Rio Grande is much smaller, and the Rio del Espíritu Santo is quite insignificant.

In his map of 1679, Duval makes it quite clear that the Mississippi was not known to him as the Rio del Espíritu Santo.²⁵ After combining the western part of the Sanson map of 1656 with the western part of the 1674 map, he legended "R. du St. Esprit" both the Rio del Espíritu Santo and the Rio de Canaveral of the 1656 map. Then, taking the upper course of the Chucagua from the 1674 map, he marked it as "Chucagua R." and added to it the lower course of the Rio Grande of the 1656 map, inscribing the legend "R. grande de Chucagua" at its mouth, which occupies the same place on the Gulf Coast as does the mouth of the Rio Grande on the 1656 map.

VII

If, as is commonly held, the Rio del Espíritu Santo is the Mississippi, and if, as is usually asserted, it was generally known in Europe and in America that the name of the great river flowing into the Gulf was the Rio del Espíritu Santo, it stands to reason that when the Mississippi was finally discovered by Jolliet from the North, and after it had been descended to the sea by La Salle, these two pathfinders, as well as the men versed in geography in New France and in Europe would have immediately concluded that the newly found river was the Rio del Espíritu Santo. Those who are most emphatic in asserting the existence of such prevailing knowledge base their assertion on a perfunctory perusal of a very few of the maps studied in the previous sections of this essay. However, from the almost dogmatic assurance of their pronouncements—which they modestly call demonstrations—one would think that they had at least analyzed the few maps upon which they dissert so glibly, and that they had ascertained their genesis or derivation.

²⁵ *La Mer de Nort où sont la N^{le} France, la Floride, . . . Par P. Du-Val . . .*, [Paris], 1669; reproduced in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 79.

In this section we shall consider: first, what was actually being said in New France about the great river when it was first heard of from the Indians; next, we shall see what was said of it after its discovery by Jolliet; in the third place, we shall examine whether La Salle, who descended the river to the sea, knew it under the name of Rio del Espíritu Santo; and finally, we must notice with what river the people in France and in Canada identified the Mississippi after La Salle's voyage.

In general it can be said that those in New France who were interested in the geography of the North American continent derived their knowledge from the maps of Nicolas Sanson, for these maps immediately became so popular that imitations were everywhere in Europe, and the genuine maps themselves as well as Sanson's atlases soon found their way to Canada. It is known, for instance, that his 1650 map of North America was in Quebec before 1660, and there is positive evidence that his map of 1656 or a reissue thereof was to be found in Montreal in 1669.¹ When the Jesuit missionaries first began to hear of a large river west of the Great Lakes, they naturally tried to make this information fit in with what they knew of the country from these maps. Thus the geographical comments in the Relations of 1659-1660 and of 1661-1662 are a mixture of what was learned from the Indians about the south and the west, and of the data about these parts of North America represented on the Sanson map of 1650.

After mentioning that the Indians dwelling at the farthest end of Lake Superior had given an entirely new light on the geography of the West, the writer of the earlier of these two Relations goes on to say:

Now, we know that proceeding southward for about three hundred leagues from the end of Lake Superior, . . . one comes to the Baye du St. Esprit, which lies at latitude 30° and at longitude 280°, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Florida; and [we know that] from the same western end of Lake Superior, in a southwesterly direction, there are about two hundred leagues to another lake emptying, on the coast of New Granada, into the Vermilion Sea [Gulf of California], [which communicates with] the great Sea of the South [Pacific Ocean]. And it is from one of these two places that the Indians who live some sixty leagues to the west of our Lake Superior obtain European goods, and they even say that they have seen Europeans there.²

¹ L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 204.

² R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 45:222.

On the 1650 Sanson map of North America the 280th meridian crosses the thirtieth parallel in the "B. de Spiritu S^{to}." On the same map, "another lake" lying to the southwest of Lake Superior is shown emptying into the "Mar Vermejo" through the "Rio de Norte," and the distance between this lake and the western end of Lake Superior is about two thirds the distance between Lake Superior and the "B. de Spiritu S^{to}." Again, the "Mar Vermejo" is shown washing the shores of "Nouvelle Grenade" and opening on the "Mer du Sud." Finally, the remainder of the above quotation—omitted because irrelevant here—in which the position of Port Nelson as well as the distance along the great circle between this point and Japan is given, removes all doubt that the author wrote the whole passage with the 1650 Sanson map of North America before him.

We are not told whether "one comes to the Baye du St. Esprit" by way of a river; but this means of reaching the bay is specified in the second of the two Relations referred to above. On returning from one of their forays, Iroquois Indians had spoken of villages

situated along a beautiful river which serves to carry people down to the great lake—for thus they call the sea—where they trade with Europeans who pray to God as we do, and who use rosary beads and bells for calling the people to prayer. From their description we judge them to be Spaniards. That sea must either be the Baye du S. Esprit in the Gulf of Mexico on the coast of Florida, or else the Vermilion Sea on the coast of New Granada, in the great South Sea.³

The author of this passage who also had the Sanson map of 1650, does not call the "beautiful river" Rio del Espíritu Santo for the simple reason that the hydrography of the Southern United States on this map is a mere copy of De Laet's Florida, and on the latter, as we saw, all the rivers emptying into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo are nameless.

Later in the sixties, as further information was received about the great river of the west, the Jesuits began to wonder where its mouth was situated. Father Allouez, who made its Indian name known to white men, conjectured that it discharged itself into the sea in the direction of Virginia.⁴ Father Dablon, who in the autumn of 1669 had gone to the lower reaches of the Fox River, wrote as follows of the great river west of the Saint Francis Xavier mission in the Relation of 1669-1670: "It comes

³ JR, 47:146.

⁴ JR, 51:46, 52.

from the north and flows toward the south, and so far that the Indians who have descended it in search of enemies, after many days' journey have not found its mouth, which can only be toward the Sea of Florida [Gulf of Mexico] or that of California."⁵ He makes no mention of a "Baye du St. Esprit," but of the Gulf of Mexico in general, because Sanson's map, which he very probably had, showed Florida surrounded by a huge mountain range which would so deflect the course of the great river that it could not reach the Gulf at so high a latitude as that of the Baye du St. Esprit. He does suggest, however, that the river might flow around the mountain range, toward the southwest and so into the Gulf of California. That mountain range impressed all who consulted these maps and they considered it a barrier which was bound to deflect the great river, either to the east, as Allouez thought, or to the west, as Dablon thought, and as Marquette himself believed in 1670. In a letter written after April 6 of the latter year, Marquette said: "It is hard to believe that the great river discharges its waters in Virginia; we think rather that it has its mouth in California."⁶

After his return to Quebec in 1671, Dablon wrote in the Relation of 1670-1671: "The great river which they call Mississippi . . . can only empty itself into the Sea of Florida."⁷ Farther on in the same Relation, where he brings together all that had been learned from the Indians about the Mississippi, he says: "It seems to form an enclosure as it were of all our lakes, rising in the northern regions and flowing southwards to the sea, which we suppose to be either the Vermilion or the Florida Sea, because we do not know of any large rivers in that direction except those which empty into these two seas."⁸ We may note that he makes no mention of a possible mouth in the Baye du St. Esprit, owing to the impassable mountain range shown on the map.

La Salle, as Galinée says in his narrative, joined the expedition of 1669 in the hope that by way of the Ohio he might find a "passage into the Vermilion Sea, into which M. de la Salle believed the Ohio River emptied."⁹ That the Ohio was thought at the time to be the Mississippi is clear from Dollier's account of the journey of Courcelle to Lake Ontario in 1671:

⁵ JR, 54:136.

⁶ JR, 54:188.

⁷ JR, 55:96.

⁸ JR, 55:206.

⁹ Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 168.

Two years ago, two ecclesiastics left here [to visit] diverse Indian nations, situated along a great river called by the Iroquois, Ohio, and by the Ottawa, Mississippi. Their design did not succeed . . . They learned, however, . . . that it was larger than the St. Lawrence River, . . . and that its ordinary course was from east to west. After having closely examined the maps which we have of the coast of New Sweden, of the two Floridas, of Virginia, and of Old Mexico, I did not discover any river's mouth comparable to that of the St. Lawrence. This leads us to think that the river of which we speak disembogues into another sea—the determination of which I leave to the judgment of the more learned. Nevertheless, it is probable that it waters those countries in the direction of New Spain, which abound in gold and silver.¹⁰

Besides his narrative of the expedition of 1669-1670, Galinée wrote other memorials which are no longer extant. All that remains are five pages of geographical notes taken from them by Michel-Antoine Baudrand. The date of the memorials themselves cannot be precisely ascertained; we only know that they were written sometime in 1671. After describing the St. Lawrence, he continues as follows:

However, all the Indians of New France who have roamed over the country agree, on being questioned, that the St. Lawrence is not the most considerable river of Canada. They know of another one which the Iroquois call Ohio, and the Algonquian and Ottawa call Mississippi, as if to say "all the rivers in one," and it is called by them *the* great river, as though the St. Lawrence, which they all know, were in comparison but a small river.

This great river, he tells us, flows southwestward and Iroquois who have gone to its mouth have found the heat excessive,

It is difficult to say where this river empties: apparently not into the Sea of the North where no river like the Ohio disembogues, nor into Hudson Bay, for the Indians say that the weather is warm at its mouth, so that, it seems, it can only discharge itself into the Vermilion Sea.¹¹

The position of the mouth of the Mississippi remained uncertain until the descent of the river by Jolliet and Marquette in June 1673. These explorers, it is true, turned northward while they were still 750 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, but because of an error of computation, they thought they had

¹⁰ E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IX, Albany, 1855, 81.

¹¹ BN, Mss. fr., 15451:12-13.

reached latitude 33°. This error and the direction of the river made them quite certain that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.

After an interview with Jolliet, Dablon wrote to France on August 1, 1674:

The Father [Marquette] and the Sieur Jolliet have no doubt that [the Mississippi has its mouth] in the Gulf of Mexico, that is, in Florida. Its mouth cannot be in the east, in Virginia, for the lowest latitude of the Virginia coast is 34°, and they went as far down as latitude 33°, being then still fifty leagues from the sea. Nor [can the river have its mouth] in the west, in the Vermilion Sea, because their route which was always southward took them away from that sea. There remains, therefore, only Florida which is midway between both; and the Mississippi which our Frenchmen navigated, is very probably the river which geographers mark [on their maps] and call [rivière] du St. Esprit.¹²

As we have already seen, Dablon's statement that the Mississippi is "very probably" the Rio del Espíritu Santo cannot be justified by the maps at his disposal when he wrote this letter. On the other hand, it is easy to see why he came to this conclusion. The reliability of the Sanson maps was so generally taken for granted that one would naturally attempt to reconcile all fresh information obtained from actual discoveries with the data contained in these maps. So long as Dablon had only the 1650 map, on which all the rivers emptying into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo are left nameless, there is not even a suggestion that the great river of the west is the Rio del Espíritu Santo. In 1674, however, he must have had either the 1656 map of Sanson or the 1657 variant thereof, on both of which two of the rivers which empty into this bay are named: the easternmost, R. de Canaveral, and the westernmost, Rio del Espíritu Santo. Since the first of these as shown on the map could not possibly be the river which Jolliet and Marquette descended, because of the

¹² Relation de la decouverte de la Mer du Sud . . . , Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier 155, Canada I, 2 v. This manuscript is one of the earliest copies made on Dablon's original. The manuscript in the St. Sulpice Paris Archives is a later, faulty copy by an unknown scribe, certainly not Jolliet. The text in JR, 58:92-108, is taken from Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, I, 262-270; who published a re-arranged copy of the document in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, (ASH), 5: no. 16. In editing the passage quoted above he punctuated the text in such a manner as to make it unintelligible. Bad though the editing of this document is in the *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France (1672-1679)*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1861, I, 194-204, at least the sense of this passage, pp. 200-201, is preserved.

position of its headwaters and the direction of its course, Dablon would naturally assume that the Mississippi was "very probably" the second river named by Sanson.

The main point is, however, that this assertion of Dablon's cannot be taken as a proof that the Mississippi was known as the Rio del Espíritu Santo. For to say nothing of the cautious way in which he expresses his opinion, the evidence thus far presented is enough to show that he was mistaken.

In 1669, it will be remembered, La Salle thought that the great river which he had heard about from the Iroquois discharged itself into the Gulf of California. It is clear, moreover, from all the accounts written or dictated by him, as well as from the maps made under his direction, that he never completely rid himself of the idea that the great river was the Ohio.¹³ This fact is apparent from Minet's map to be discussed later, which was an adaptation of La Salle's own map now lost,¹⁴ as well as from the 1684 map made by Franquelin under the direct supervision of La Salle himself.¹⁵ On both these maps, the upper course of the Mississippi, as also the Illinois, the Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Red River, are represented as converging tributaries or "rivières" which discharge into a large "fleuve" that runs off to the southwest into the sea.

Since Franquelin's map bases its delineation, nomenclature, and hydrography of the present-day United States on a variant of Coronelli's map, it represents the ideas of one of the best geographers in France at that time. The latter evidently did not believe that the Mississippi was identical with the Rio del Espíritu Santo, for both these rivers are shown on Franquelin's map, each with its own name and a course of its own: the Mississippi has its mouth on the eastern coast of Texas at latitude 26°, and the Rio del Espíritu Santo empties into the Baye du St. Esprit at the place where it is found on every map mentioned thus far in this essay.

The extant writings of La Salle show beyond the shadow of a doubt that he never identified the great river which he had descended to the sea as the Rio del Espíritu Santo; and the reason is that he had never heard this name given to the great river discovered by the De Soto expedition. The two accounts of

¹³ Cf. the "Chucagua" fragment examined below; the procès-verbal of March 13 and 14, and that of April 9, 1682, in Margry, II, 181 and 191; the narrative of Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 551; and the map of Franquelin of 1684.

¹⁴ *Some La Salle Journeys*, 34, note 51.

¹⁵ "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 34 ff., 59-62.

De Soto's expedition to which he could have had access at this time were the Elvas account, in which the great river of Florida is called the Rio Grande, and the account of Garcilaso de la Vega, in which the same great river is named the Chucagua. It is doubtful whether La Salle was acquainted with the original Portuguese Elvas narrative,¹⁶ but he had a full knowledge of Garcilaso de la Vega's account,¹⁷ for he had with him, during his descent of the Mississippi in 1682, Richelet's adaptation of it,¹⁸ as well as the Sanson-Jaillot map of 1674.¹⁹

A letter written by Tonti at Michilimackinac, July 23, 1682, tells of La Salle's first ideas about the location of the lower part of the river which he was descending: "We went below latitude 29°, leaving the Baye du S. Esprit on our left to the northeast. M. de la Salle believed that he was eighty leagues from the Santa Barbara mountains. He kept to himself the [exact] latitude of the mouth [of the Mississippi]. We traveled south and south-westward."²⁰ In his first memorial, written two years later, Tonti refers to the notion entertained by La Salle at an earlier stage of the voyage down the Mississippi, when they were at the level of the Taensa villages:

M. de la Salle had always believed that this river discharged itself into the Baye du Saint-Esprit; but when he had taken our latitude with his astrolabe, and found it to be thirty-one degrees, this led him to believe that we were in the Abscondido [Escondido] River, which was later found to be correct.²¹

As a matter of fact the expedition was never on the Rio Escondido, although La Salle himself later insisted that they were. This point, of importance in proving that he did not identify the Mississippi with the Rio del Espíritu Santo, is clearly brought out in the geographical digression contained in a letter

¹⁶ See La Salle's letter to Father Oliva, April 5, 1666, published by G. J. Garraghan, in "Some Newly Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, IV, 1935, 289. It was not necessary to know Portuguese to teach mathematics in Portugal during the seventeenth century, for this branch of the curriculum was taught in Latin.

¹⁷ On December 1, 1666, he wrote to Father Oliva that he had some knowledge of Spanish, "linguae . . . hispanicae notitiam," Garraghan, *loc. cit.*, 290.

¹⁸ This is clear from the "Chucagua" fragment, *infra*.

¹⁹ The two procès-verbaux referred to above do not make sense unless they are read in conjunction with this map.

²⁰ Tonti to —, July 23, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:168v. This letter is printed, French and English in parallel columns, in M. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette, A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O. F. M.*, New York, 1934, 215-229, the quotation will be found on p. 229.

²¹ Margry, I, 602.

which he wrote in the Illinois country a year after his voyage to the sea.²²

In this letter, only a fragment of which is extant, he gives in detail the reasons why he believes the Chucagua of Garcilaso de la Vega is not the Mississippi, and why he is uncertain whether it flows into the river which he descended. Among these reasons, the following are relevant to our discussion here.

He argues that the Mississippi has its mouths facing east-southeast, and not due south; but the whole southern coast of Florida faces due south, except the portion between "the river marked Escondido on the maps and Pánuco. This Escondido is assuredly the Mississippi." He goes on to say that this same portion of the coast is the only place which lies at latitude 27°, the latitude which he had observed at the mouth of the Mississippi. The rest of the Florida Coast, he remarks, is at latitude 30° at nearly every point.

There is, of course, another section of the coast where the mouth of the Mississippi might face east-southeast:

There remains the Florida peninsula. But this is out of the question, for the Colbert [*i. e.*, Mississippi] River which at this latitude flows steadily eastward, or at most southeastward, would not have room in the east-west width of this peninsula, since it runs to the southeast for at least 120 leagues, from latitude 30° to latitude 27°, at which point it empties into the sea. This would be impossible in the width of the Florida peninsula. Now this is precisely the direction of the Rio Escondido. For this reason I maintain that we were near Mexico, and consequently in a river other than the Chucagua from which the Spaniards took such a long time to reach Mexico.

Besides explicitly identifying the Mississippi with the Rio

²² This is the "Chucagua" fragment mentioned above; the beginning and the end are missing. The original is in BN, Clairambault, 1016:188-189v., printed in Margry, II, 196-203. Margry's editing of this La Salle autograph fragment is on a par with the editing of the rest of his compilation. There are misreadings, omissions, arbitrary paragraphings, and the punctuation of one passage quoted below renders the text unintelligible. J. F. Steward translated the defective Margry text in "La Salle a Victim to His Error in Longitude," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1910*, XV, 129-132. There is no evidence whatever to support De Villiers' gratuitous assertion that La Salle himself mutilated the document, *L'expédition de Cavalier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique, (1684-1687)*, Paris, 1931, 34; nor is there any evidence for the still more gratuitous assertion of the following page; namely, that, in France, La Salle "s'empresse de déchirer l'embouchure du Mississippi et le nom de Chucagoa accolé au fleuve Saint-Louis." How could La Salle have torn this map since it is a tracing made by or for Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville who was born ten years after La Salle's death? Cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 61-62.

Escondido, the above passage helps to explain his fundamental misconception of the geography of the Gulf, a misconception which was to have such fatal consequences a few years later. Like all his contemporaries, La Salle put implicit faith in the current maps of the Gulf of Mexico. Now, prior to the maps of Delisle, no map of the period showed a delta jutting into the Gulf anywhere along the northern coast.²³ Since nothing but such a delta would explain the east-southeast direction of the mouths of the Mississippi, he would naturally locate his river on the Texas Coast, even if he had not computed the latitude erroneously in 1682, an error partly due to his defective astrolabe.²⁴ Like the other members of his last expedition, he was on the lookout for the landmarks represented on the maps of the Gulf which they had with them, having no less confidence in the accuracy of these maps than he had in Garcilaso de la Vega's narrative, for, he wrote: "Assuredly the relation of Fernand Soto is not a fairy tale."²⁵

In the letter from which we have quoted above, he goes on to compare Garcilaso de la Vega's description of the Chucagua with what he had seen of the Mississippi, and then repeats his initial statement that the two rivers could not be one and the same, that the Chucagua must be farther east flowing parallel to the Mississippi. Next comes a restatement of what he had told Tonti at the Taensa portage:

After we reached latitude 31°, all the Indians who go to the sea to make salt agreed in saying that the sea was situated to the east. Every morning we saw sea mists rising in the east and moving in toward the west, even against the wind. They were the mists [coming] from the shore of the Baye du St. Esprit and from the sea coast lying northeast-southwest from [Rio] Escondido to [Rio or Costa] de Pescadores and the above-mentioned Bay.²⁶

²³ Commenting on Delisle's map of 1703 in which the delta is shown, Joutel wrote: "Et sy ledit fleuve ce gette dans la mer a un cap aussy auancé que l'auteur le marque il est a croire quon ne lauroit pas du manquer"; ASH, 115-9:no. 12.

²⁴ See Minet to Seignelay, July 6, 1685, Margry, II, 603.

²⁵ The "Chucagua" fragment, Margry, II, 197.

²⁶ "C'estoit les vapeurs de la coste de la baye du Saint Esprit et de la mer qui est entre Escondido, de Pescadores et ladite baye qui va du Nord-Est au Sud Ouest." There is a period at the end of this sentence, and the next sentence begins: "En passant ne doutés nullement. . . ." Margry edited this passage as follows: ". . . et de la mer qui est entre Escondido, Rio de Pescadores et ladite baye qui va du Nord-Est au Sud-Ouest en passant. Ne doutés nullement. . . ." He obviously did not understand what La Salle had written; and Steward's translation, *loc. cit.*, 131, of the second person plural of the imperative by the first person singular of the present indicative, "[I] do not doubt at all . . .," makes things worse still.

Since the Rio del Espíritu Santo emptied into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and since La Salle clearly says that the mouth of his Rio Escondido—which is actually our Mississippi—is some distance below the bay, it is evident that his river is not identified by him with the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

After his return to France, La Salle altered the course of the Mississippi on his map, but he never wavered with regard to its identity. In Paris, when he gave a map to M. Tronson, he told this Sulpician that he had "entered the Gulf of Mexico not by way of the Baye du St. Esprit, but at latitude 27°, on the same meridian as Pánuco which is at the end of the Gulf, far beyond this bay."²⁷ As we have already noted, Franquelin's map of 1684 shows the mouth of the Mississippi at exactly this point. Finally, in every letter written by Beaujeu and La Salle between October 1684 and March 1685, the Mississippi is said to be beyond the Baye du St. Esprit,²⁸ into which, as we have seen, the Rio del Espíritu Santo emptied on all the maps of the time.

Two passages in contemporary documents which seemingly indicate the opposite of this conclusion actually strengthen it when read in conjunction with a contemporary map. In Minet's letter to Seignelay accompanying the relation of the 1684-1685 voyage to the Gulf, the engineer says:

I am sending you a map of Louisiana compiled from the best maps and memorials I could find. [On it] you will see that the river [Mississippi] and the lakes of Canada are drawn as on his [La Salle's] map. It is not certain that the river [Mississippi] empties directly into the lakes which we saw [the lagoons along the Texas coast]; it may just as well empty into the Baye du Saint-Esprit, and is perhaps the Rio Grande.²⁹

The same idea is expressed in a letter which Arnoul, the Rochefort intendant, wrote to Seignelay the following day. Arnoul remarks that in the account of the 1684-1685 voyage which Beaujeu had shown him before sending it to Paris, no mention is made of the place where Beaujeu thought La Salle had landed on this occasion. He had told Arnoul that in his opinion the mouth of La Salle's river was farther east than Matagorda Bay:

²⁷ Tronson to Belmont, April 15, 1685, no. 283; printed without date in Margry, II, 355.

²⁸ Cf. Margry, II, 522, 526, 529, 531-532, etc., etc.

²⁹ Minet to Seignelay, July 7, 1685, AM, B 4, 10:296; printed in Margry, II, 603, under date of July 6. The original reads: "elle peut tomber aussy bien dans la baye du Saint-Esprit, peut-estre ses [*i. e.*, c'est] Rio Grande," and not as in Margry: "peut estre le Rio Grande."

It may be situated in the direction of the Baye du St. Esprit or even below it [*i. e.*, still farther east], toward the Cape of Florida. This is all the more plausible because that section of America is nearest to Canada, and the English who live in Virginia where the *Joly* touched, say that behind the [Appalachian] mountains which surround their country there is a very large river.³⁰

The above quotation is clearly a variant of what Minet wrote. The greater vagueness comes from the fact that Arnoul was less familiar with the maps of the period and was simply giving the substance of what Beaujeu had told him.

If the letter of Minet is compared with the data on his own map,³¹ it can readily be seen that when he says "the river may just as well empty into the Baye du Saint-Esprit," the river which he means is not the Rio del Espíritu Santo, but the "R. Choucagoua,"³² Garcilaso de la Vega's Chucagua. What he meant by the Rio Grande is just as obvious; for on his map, as on that of 1674, the river so named emptied into present-day Apalachee Bay. This latter river is also the one of which Arnoul said, quoting Beaujeu, that its mouth "may even be below," *i. e.*, farther east than "the Baye du St. Esprit, toward the Cape of Florida," as the peninsula was then called, according to many maps.

In view of all these texts, it should be clear that neither La Salle nor anyone else identified the Mississippi with the Rio del Espíritu Santo; and since the European maps, from which they derived their knowledge of the hydrography of Florida, contain, as we have seen, not the slightest evidence that the Mississippi was regarded as the Rio del Espíritu Santo, no one in either America or Europe made this identification.

There is, however, a contemporary document in which the Mississippi is explicitly identified with the Rio del Espíritu Santo. On November 8, 1682, La Barre, the recently arrived governor of New France, wrote from Quebec to Clairambault: "The Sieur de la Salle pretends to have discovered the mouth of the Mississippi." He adds that he had as yet received no news from the

³⁰ [Arnoul] to Seignelay, July 8, 1685, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21331:307.

³¹ Carte de la Louisiane, SHB, C 4044-4, reproduced in S. J. Tucker, ed., *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Illinois, 1942, pl. VII.

³² On February 18, 1689, Beaujeu wrote to Villermont about a letter which he had seen. The sender of this letter wrote that Jean Cavellier, La Salle's brother, was coming from Canada with many complaints against Beaujeu; he also said that "La Salle was at the mouth of a river sixty leagues east of the place where I [Beaujeu] left him. This river must be the Chucagoua which empties into the Baye du Saint-Esprit, where the pilote of St. Augustine in Florida, whom we found at Petit-Goave, told us he had gone." Margry, III, 599.

explorer himself, and promises to send more definite news when he will have been longer in the colony than a month;³³ he had landed at Quebec the preceding October 1. Yet, four days later, he wrote to the minister, this time:

The Sieur de la Salle has written, by the Sieur de Tonti, that he actually discovered the mouth of the Mississippi . . . I am not making much of this discovery until I learn more about it, since this river is certainly the Rivière de Spiritu Santo in the Gulf of Mexico, at latitude 21°. ³⁴

This single text of a man who, as we know, was bent on belittling La Salle's achievements has little weight beside the mass of positive evidence which indicates the contrary. La Barre did not know what he was talking about, as is obvious from the latitude of the mouth of the "Rivière de Spiritu Santo." The position which he gives, 21°, evidently a clerical error for 31°, is the latitude of the mouth of the Rio del Espíritu Santo on all the maps of the time. In 1682, La Salle had not communicated to anybody the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, and later he consistently said that it was situated on the 27th parallel or thereabouts. Moreover, as we have seen, in his letter of July 23, 1682, Tonti explicitly stated: "We went below latitude 29°, leaving the Baye du S. Esprit on our left to the northeast." It is very likely that on hearing of La Salle's discovery, La Barre tried to identify the river on one of Sanson's maps, as Dablon had done eight years earlier. But while the Jesuit made the identification "very probable," La Barre was positive that La Salle had descended the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

It cannot be said that the governor who had just arrived from France was voicing an opinion held at that time in that country, as the following facts will show.

After becoming acquainted with Peñalosa, Claude Bernou began to write memorials advocating the foundation of a French colony at the mouth of the Rio Bravo, our Rio Grande. In one of these memorials, composed in 1681 or 1682, among other advantages of such a settlement he mentions the fact that the colonists will

be able to trade with the Indians and with the French who will settle in western Canada along the great Mississippi River which empties into the Baye du Saint-Esprit 100 or 120 leagues from the

³³ La Barre to Clairambault, November 8, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 448:315-316.

³⁴ La Barre to Seignelay, November 12, 1682, Margry, II, 302.

Rio Bravo; the course of the Mississippi is perfectly known to the Sieur de la Salle who is completing its exploration this year.³⁵

The reason why Bernou has the Mississippi disemboгуing into the Baye du Saint-Esprit is that when he wrote the above memorial he had seen maps which were made in Quebec which have the mouth of the Mississippi on the northern shore of this bay; but none of these maps labels the Mississippi "Rio del Espíritu Santo," and Bernou himself here does not identify it with the latter river.

In 1682, Bernou collaborated with Peronel in the making of a map of North America.³⁶ On this the course of the Mississippi is delineated down to latitude 36°, due north of the "B. de Sp. sancto." No Rio del Espíritu Santo is indicated as disemboгуing into this bay, but a river of that name is shown emptying into Apalachee Bay.

At the beginning of the following year, 1683, after hearing of the completion of the discovery of the Mississippi by La Salle, Bernou wrote the so-called *Relation officielle*, a compilation of items culled for the most part from Membré's and Tonti's letters dated respectively June 6 and July 23, 1682, and from La Salle's letter of October of the same year. This information he combined with what he knew of the geography of North America as portrayed on available maps of that continent.³⁷ Moreover, it is clear that when he wrote this Relation, Bernou had before him a draft of the map which he had made in collaboration with Peronel the preceding year. The Mississippi, he says,

empties into the Gulf of Mexico, beyond the Baye du Saint-Esprit, between latitudes 27° and 28°, at the place where some maps put the Rio de la Madalena [*e. g.*, the map of 1674] and others the Rio Escondido [*e. g.*, the map of Duval of 1679].³⁸ It is about thirty leagues from the Rio Bravo, about sixty from the Rio de Palmas, and between

³⁵ Proposition Pour établir une colonie dans la floride a l'embouchure du fleuve appelé Rio-bravo, BN, Clairambault, 1016:201. On these various memorials, cf. "Peñalosa's Expedition and La Salle," in *Some La Salle Journeys*, 66 ff.

³⁶ Cf. *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, 111 ff. The map is reproduced in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, pl. VIII.

³⁷ Cf. "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," *MID-AMERICA*, XXII, 1940, 3-37.

³⁸ An earlier map of Florida by Duval has, at latitude 27° 30', "R. Escondido o la Madalena," *Le Monde; ou, la Géographie Universelle*, Paris, 1663, between pp. 54 and 55. The maps in the two-volume edition of 1670 are the same as in that of 1663, but the text has been expanded. According to a note by Phillips in Lowery, *A Descriptive List of Maps*, 150, no. 153, the first edition—which I have not seen—was published in 1658. On the Sanson map of 1656 the R. Escondido and the R. de la Magdalena are two different rivers, the mouths of which are fifty miles apart.

ninety and one hundred leagues from Rio Panero [Pánuco] where the nearest settlement of the Spaniards is situated.³⁹

This *Relation officielle* was written at the time when Coronelli was making the Marly globe. At latitude 27° on this globe, in the band between the 275th and the 280th meridians, the Italian cartographer inscribed the following legend: "The mouth of the Mississippi River, . . . this spot is called on the maps Rio Escondido."⁴⁰ Four years later, in the description of the Mississippi in his *Atlante Veneto*, Coronelli wrote: "Some geographers quite erroneously legend Rio Escondido the mouth of this Colbert [Mississippi] River on their maps. There can be no doubt, however, that their mistake should by all means be corrected."⁴¹ Later on he says: "Those geographers who had no knowledge of this river [Mississippi] have omitted to draw its course on their maps or have, quite mistakenly, placed there the Rio Escondido. We were the first to bring this fact to light."⁴² Although Coronelli knew of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, he never identified it with the Mississippi. On his map of North America of 1688 and on the gores of the Florence globe, one of the mouths of the Mississippi is located on the east coast of Texas at latitude 27°, while another branch of the river has its mouth on the same meridian, one and a half degrees lower. On this map and on this globe, the "Bahia de le Espu S° ó Mar pequeno" opens on the northern coast of the Gulf five degrees east of the longitude of the mouths of the Mississippi, and at this point on the bay he has marked "Rio de lo Spiritu Santo."

For those who "prefer to think" that these texts mean just the opposite of what they obviously say, and for those who choose to believe that the cartographers meant the exact contrary of what they inscribed in their maps the above evidence will not be conclusive. For those readers who have no such preferences, however, it supplies ample proof that the Mississippi was not known in North America as the Rio del Espíritu Santo by its two foremost explorers; and that no one in Europe who was expert in the geography of the New World identified the two rivers.

(To be concluded)

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³⁹ "Relation officielle," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 33.

⁴⁰ Recueil des Inscriptions des Remarques Historiques et Geographiques qui sont sur le Globe Terreste de Marly, BN, Mss. fr., 13365:64.

⁴¹ *Atlante Veneto*, . . . 2 volumes, Venice, 1690-1691, I, 29.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 132.

Notes and Comment

THE PROBLEM OF THE BOOK REVIEW

A "civil" war flared in *The American Historical Review* of October 1943. It drew wide attention from historians. The strife was between Professor Avery Craven, author of *The Coming of the Civil War*, and Professor Fred A. Shannon, reviewer of the volume. A letter of each to the Editor was published in the section of "Communications." These letters form an episode, a rather outstanding episode, in the perennial conflict between reviewers and the reviewed. Like the editor of the *Review* and many another reader, we immediately proclaimed neutrality and scurried about to get the book and the backfiles to check the respective assertions of the disputants. Unfortunately, we cannot maintain a discreet silence. Standing in our neutral corner we see in this episode an occasion for comment, not upon the charges and counter-charges of the two professors, but upon some principles and problems involved in book reviewing. Some aspects of these have already been touched upon in this section of MID-AMERICA for April 1939.

Is it time to summon a conference of postwar planners to draft a scheme of procedures which might eliminate occasions for incidents between those who write books and those who review them? Should certain types of reviews be banned? Is it better for editors of scholarly journals to continue printing letters of a controversial nature? What principles are to guide the editor of any renowned periodical when he finds himself in a decidedly delicate position between author and reviewer? Is it feasible, is it advisable for the professors of history to draw up some rules for general application, designed to insure a maximum of knowledge from a review and to eliminate personal or other controversy?

A discussion of these questions seems to be in place; wherefore we venture to propose some private opinions in the hope that they may be brought up formally in future meetings by members of learned historical societies. Professors who have long known and practically applied most of the following ideas are asked to be indulgent. In fact, definite principles of reviewing are followed by the majority most of the time. But established procedures seem to be utterly eschewed by some few, perhaps because they are unknown, perhaps because they are long forgotten. Surely, they are available, for some editors send out instructions for the guidance of the appointed reviewer regarding the type of coverage expected. Thus, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* prints its policy in the form of general suggestions with respect to the purpose and content

of its book review section. Other editors convey their policies in a less formal fashion. Nevertheless, to have a set of guiding principles is one thing, and to see to their employment in this land of the academic free is quite another, as we can prove after some years of experience in using our jaundiced eye on manuscript reviews.

The first principle involved is one of ownership. A book is precious to its author, as precious as a child to its parent. Deep down in his heart your true scholar is never quite satisfied with each tiny detail of his finished product, perfect though it may seem to others. Many a wrinkled eye peers sorrowfully at passages it once beheld with pride. Still, the book is always precious to its maker. Objectively, what lies between the covers may be of good, poor, or indifferent quality, and it may be presented in good, bad, or indifferent taste. At its worst, even though its chapters may rattle along like a train of empty freight cars, it is, nonetheless, the author's book, the product of his labor. It is *not*, in any sense, the reviewer's book. It does not become the reviewer's book, not even though it pertains to what he may term "his field." No one, so far as we know, has been able to acquire legal title to any field of history, and no one can legitimately post such signs as "Stay Out: This Is MY Ten Minutes," and "Anything Written about This Field Is Mine."

Once off the press the book, art or no art, becomes an object of interest to a number of citizens. It is up for judgment. This eliminates commentators and the general public. We cannot be concerned here with the impressions or opinions of sundry individuals who, because of special motives or enthusiasms, see in any new work some source of profit or glory to themselves. Nor can we be bothered with book critics, whose vocation it is to convey to the public their weighed opinions regarding the value of the book as literature or amusement, and whose avocation has become to air personal views artistically before their public. "The critic," in the words of Joseph Wood Krutch, writing on this subject in *The Nation* of April 17, 1937, "is supposed to be read for his own sake." These words pertain to the "lofty" critic, but they may apply to the lesser lights who presume to pass judgment on anything that appears in book form. We consider here judges who are or who should be skilled in history. These are reviewers. Their training is presumed to have given them authority to judge scholarly works. If called upon, they have a duty toward their profession to evaluate the research of the author and his contribution to learning. The reviewer is not supposed to switch to the role of critic, lofty or otherwise, in rendering his verdict. He will do well to bear in mind that his judgment too is up for the judgment of his confreres.

The reviewer may state his verdict in any number of ways, described by adverbs lying between "gently" and "brutally," inclusive, depending upon whether he has approached the product of

scholarship in a spirit of reverential awe or with the fierceness of a trout striking at a strange fly, or with some intermediate feeling. He may by taste and artistry make his review a bit of literature. Such aspirations generally go limp when faced by the editor's request to limit the review to three hundred words. The word curtailment has had much to do with the reviewer's approach to the new book. Whatever the approach, the judgment should not be given until all proofs for the verdict are carefully gleaned and the black marks assessed against the value of the book as a whole.

Incidentally, it is praiseworthy to send a carbon copy of the said proofs with the completed review to the editor of the magazine. After all, who except the reviewer will ever get the benefits of the complete review if most of the facts are locked in the reviewer's files? The procedure would prove protective. Moreover, it would prove definitely helpful, since the editor on beholding the tabulated credits and debits would be in a position either to ask the reviewer for more ample treatment or to classify the work in the "books received" section. Some reviewers have the exceedingly commendable practice of writing more than the number of words assigned by the editor, enclosing some sections of the review in brackets for deletion or incorporation at the editor's discretion.

To reassure authors, we may state emphatically that the majority of reviewers are sympathetic toward a new book. They wish, as spokesmen for a professional group, to apprehend and to make comprehensible the writer's concept and contribution. The author will feel easier of mind and heart during the production of his work if he anticipates this understanding and dignified reception. On the contrary, occasionally an historian labors at "gathering together" a book knowing that he will have put forth his chin—you understand—on publication day. The fear of "what they will say" haunts many writers, honest or otherwise, but we can safely say that the honest researcher may expect a hospitable reception for his work. Unless the author clearly is devoid of sureness, unless he is at the other extreme of cocksureness or mental belligerency, unless he is attempting to "stimulate discussion," it will be the reviewer's obligation to approach the book as a worthwhile contribution or as a fulfillment of a need.

The written expression of the judgment is all important. It may be literary. It should state clearly the author's purpose, the nature and place of the book, and how well the author has fulfilled his purpose. Of course it should be objective. To make it such is no slight achievement, unless one is merely enumerating contents of the book. For, sentence by sentence a review might well have the semblance of objectivity, yet in its entirety be very subjective in spirit. Assuredly, historians howl loudly enough against bias and prejudice. Still, in reviewing a book, no less than in writing one,

prejudices may easily be aroused against author, subject, reviewer, and against history itself. Nice ways to express disapproval, or disagreement, or to correct mistakes have been found, but there is no nice way to kick the apple of a man's eye.

A book in the doubtful or in the no-value classification becomes a problem child to all, except possibly to its author. The book review editor carefully chooses a reviewer from his list. Sometimes the author suggests a reviewer, thus complicating the procedure; sometimes he wishes his book to be reviewed by anybody except a specified Professor So-and-So; sometimes he waits until he hears to whom the book has been sent before registering a complaint. The book is sent to the reviewer. He finds it disappointing. Several courses are open to him, each of which terminates in hot water. He cannot conveniently return the volume, since he has accepted the assignment and has some consideration for the editor. At times he carries on a correspondence debate with the author, or again sends a copy of the review to the author before it goes to the editor. To be sure, much of this could have been avoided if the author had sent his manuscript to other authorities, but we are not speaking of authors who take such precautions. Your reviewer may visit damnation upon the volume with almost inaudible praise. This cannot be called fair to anybody concerned, neither reader, nor professor, nor prospective buyer. Finally, he can waste his time just criticizing the workmanship in any of seven ways calculated to arouse the ire of an author. What to do with a problem book of this nature? That is the poser for the conscientious reviewer and for the editor.

Quite paradoxically, the editor on occasion suddenly finds that not the book and its author but the reviewer and his review are the problem twins. Certainly it is wrong to classify the rank and file of reviewers in the problem category. Nor would we dare place a reviewer in any one of the following groups for an incidental lapse into a failure characteristic of that group. But a small per centum of reviewers fall into distinctive types. Their reviews have chronic faults and hence fail in their function of giving a complete, simple notion of what the book is about, where it stands in the field, and reasons for approval or disapproval.

We are acquainted with the reviewer of the sight-seeing type, who gushes over various accidental things in a book or expounds on glamorizing elements attached to it. Unfortunately, the number in this classification is on the increase since the advent, to take one instance, of our happier relation with Latin America; anything published about our good neighbors seems to this type to call for charming remarks, redolent of tourism. The antithesis of this type is discovered in the dour (not to be confused with deflationist) reviewer who makes certain that no word of praise for any book

comes from his pen. This one is different from the monopolistic type, who, because he claims authority in a field, is inclined to tolerate the new book, much as a sire tolerates the new colt in the pasture. Some varieties of this type view the newcomer from an elevation almost stratospheric. A variant under this heading is the reviewer with the "it-shall-not-pass" attitude. The background and the bibliographical types are cousins. The former never gets beyond those pages based upon secondary materials which the author must include for completeness, while the latter is more interested in the sources cited and uncited than he is in the text. Your cautious reviewer hews to the line, fashions his every idea, massages his every word before setting each in its proper place, and heaven help the editor if any change is made. The expansionist is noted for his knack of grasping clues for amplifications of the text, for scoldings, for essays on allied subjects, for steering the text into his own field of interest. He is close kin to the peripatetic type, who ambles directly into lanes, generally indicated by the author as closed bypaths, choosing features of these for comment without much respect to the contour of the textual thought. Your diagnostician type assumes from the outset that the book, any book, is afflicted with some ailment, bias, ism; numerous statements in the text are to him symptoms of the affliction, for which he prescribes remedies. We pass over as too few to mention the reviewers in the plastic surgeon and "Melancholy Dane" types. The "must" type tells everybody to read this book, chiefly because he has read it. The guerrilla type, called so because neither he nor his audience knows what is being shot at and what is being hit, is almost extinct. Is it any wonder then that some writers disdain reviews? Or that some scholars refuse to write them? Or that book review editors need vacations?

In view of such faults many editors would like to delete expressions, phrases, or words which indicate failings in the reviewer, but they cannot assume responsibility for the contents of the altered review. Some reviewers generously grant the editor power to use his discretion as to deletions and cutting. Yet this takes time and care and letter writing.

When the review is published, the author, in case he has been misrepresented or some real or fancied injustice has been done him, has a right to a hearing. A whole new crop of problems confront the editor. He has no recourse to regulations regarding the style and content of the letters of rebuttal. How can he decide upon the value of the letters to the readers? What censorship is to be imposed in the matter of invective? How long may the letters be, and how long may the controversy be carried on? If his magazine carries from ten to a hundred reviews what can he possibly do in the event that half of the reviewers and half of the authors suddenly

begin to hurl gauntlets and demand a hearing? Each would be within his rights, but where would the publication of letters cease? Should a periodical be established, whose purpose would be that of a clearing house and airing quarters for all historical disputations arising out of reviews? (This plan was suggested by Professor Nevins in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, February 4, 1939, and was backed in Bulletin No. XXXI of the William Clements Library, *Reviewers Reviewed*, by Otto Eisenschiml.)

The solution of many problems definitely does not lie in stopping all book reviews. The American historians are able to point with pride to the fine specimens of the art of book reviewing, and it would be stupid to do away with a thoroughly established form of literature because of instances of inept work. But book reviews are in danger of falling into discredit unless more editorial pruning is done. If certain editorial checks are brought into vogue far more profit will ensue, far less distress will be occasioned, and far more inspiration will come to reviewers.

Is there not something false about several basic practices and principles forced upon (or assumed by) editors? Take, for instance, the premise that every book is reviewable. Can a book of documents be reviewed? Such a book, or set of books, whether edited or not, can only be satisfactorily estimated by the reviewer after all of the manuscript documents have been available to him and after he has almost duplicated the labor of the author. Obviously, without manuscripts for comparison and time the reviewer's product can be only a notice and not a review or criticism. As such it should be classified in a section separated from book reviews. Passing to books of various scopes and purposes we find a number of titles in the book review section which scarcely belong there, meritorious though the authorship has been. Should encyclopedias, bibliographies, philosophies of history, syntheses, books of a survey nature, textbooks, journals, censuses, and various aids to historians be omitted from review columns, or noticed, or digested? Again, books of doubtful type of scholarship get into review columns chiefly because of the supposition that anything written under the guise of history is review-worthy. Is there sharp distinction made between the policies of reviews for review's sake, reviews for publicity's sake, reviews for scholarship's sake?

There is certainly not enough emphasis upon the reviews of strictly scholarly works. A top book in scholarship should be given a top place in the pages devoted to book reviews, and if it takes two thousand words for a capable reviewer to indicate, estimate, and criticize the work, that space should be given, even though the work is of a highly specialized nature, even though the work should be a magazine article. If we could appoint it one of the duties of a reviewer to indicate the exceptional quality of a work and its par-

ticular place in the sun, perhaps researchers would not meet the discouragement frequently theirs of seeing their work relegated to the back pages, or given several hundred words, or mixed up with various odds and ends of inconsequential historical writing. To continue the practice seems a misplacement of instruction and enlightenment. A glance at the pages assigned for reviews in various historical magazines reveals a decided trend toward quantity rather than quality and a policy of publicizing books rather than reviewing them.

It would be a profitable pleasure to hear some of these points discussed, toward the objective of finding out which bases of book reviewing need bolstering, which need blasting, and where a re-organization should begin.

J. V. J.

SOME RECENT HISPANIC AMERICAN STUDIES

Among the historical investigations of the *Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo*, a research institute of Hispanic American studies recently established in Madrid, Spain, as a part of the program of the government's Superior Council of Scientific Investigations, Don Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata, director of the Archive of the Indies, has published two volumes of fundamental importance for the study of Spanish colonization in the New World: *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias, Durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, volume I (1509-1534), 2d ed., Sevilla, 1940, and volume II (1535-1538), Sevilla, 1942. Volume I contains 5,320 listings, and volume II, 5,620. Some listings contain more than one passenger. A number of studies have been made concerning the origin, character, destination, etc., of Spain's immigrants to America in the colonial period, notably those of Rufino José Cuevo, Raimundo Rivas, Angel Rubio, C. Pérez Bustamante, Luis Thayer Ojeda, Amunátegui Solar, Luis Rubio y Moreno, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Arthur S. Aiton, and Aubrey Neasham. All these studies have been based on fragmentary evidence, and the conclusions reached have been only tentative. At last, thanks to the painstaking efforts of Bermúdez Plata, the record is being thoroughly explored.

The only systematic lists previously available were the lists of passengers to the Indies contained in Rubio y Moreno's "Catálogo metodológico de las informaciones y licencias de los que allí pasaron, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias," vols. IX and XIII in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-Americana*, Madrid, 1930 ff., which covers the period 1509 to 1588, and the first edition of volume I of Bermúdez Plata's catalogue, Madrid, 1930, for the period 1509 to 1533. In the 1940 edition of the first volume of Bermúdez Plata, the passengers to America for the year 1534 are included. For that year 1,388 separate listings are included. Rubio y Moreno's lists included only 45 names for the year 1534.

For the period 1509-1534 a total of 7,641 names of emigrants are now available whose place of origin is known, while for the period from 1509 to 1588 (fifty-four years longer), Neasham used 5,679 or 1,962 less. On the basis of these new data, C. Pérez Bustamante has brought the statistics on the subject up-to-date in an elucidating article entitled, "Las regiones españolas y la población de América," *Revista de Indias* (Madrid), II, no. 6 (1941), 81-120. It is hoped that he will continue these studies on the basis of volume II of Bermúdez Plata's catalogue, and as the additional projected volumes appear. Volume II of Bermúdez Plata includes the list of Spaniards who went to the Rio de la Plata on the ill-starred expedition of Don Pedro de Mendoza, the first founder of Buenos Aires. When this exhaustive catalogue is completed, with the publication of all the volumes in preparation by Bermúdez Plata, which comprise over 150,000 entries, covering the period up to 1780, we will have a fairly reliable index of the number, social condition, and origin of the colonizers of Spanish America up to the end of the eighteenth century, and more reliable data on dialectic, phonetic, artistic, folkloric, and other cultural influences.

Of other recent studies published by the Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the following on the Jesuits in colonial Spanish America are worthy of note: León Lopetegui, S. J., "Labor del Padre José de Acosta, S. J., en el Concilio de Lima, 1582-1583," *Revista de Indias*, III, no. 7 (1942), 63-84; *id.*, "Vocación de Indias del P. José de Acosta, S. J.," *ibid.*, I, no. 2 (1940), 83-102; *id.*, *El Padre José de Acosta, S. J., y las misiones*, Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Madrid, 1942, pp. xlvii, 624; Antonio Graiño, "Las imprentas menores en ultramar y el libro durante la tutela de España," *Revista de Indias*, II, no. 6 (1941), 149-163; Julio F. Guillén, "Cuatro cartas jesuíticas de la región magallánica," *ibid.*, 67-80; Constantino Bayle, S. J., "IV Centenario del descubrimiento del Amazonas: Descubridores jesuitas del Amazonas," *ibid.*, I, no. 1 (1940), 121-185.

Of fundamental importance for the study of nineteenth-century international politics in relation to Spanish America, in the period immediately after the wars of independence, are the following articles by the late Mexican historian Carlos Pereyra: "Las 'Noticias secretas' de América y el enigma de su publicación," *Revista de Indias*, I, no. 2 (1940), 5-33; "La comprobación del fraude cometido por el editor de las Noticias secretas," *ibid.*, II, no. 4 (1941), 107-133; "La mita peruana en el calumnioso prólogo de las 'Noticias secretas,'" *ibid.*, II, no. 6 (1941), 5-37. These studies make necessary substantial revision of previous evaluations of Ulloa's "Noticias secretas." Pereyra discusses the propaganda use of the work outside of Spain, and with photostats of the manuscript and the printed version in parallel columns, demonstrates the deliberate changes made in the

printed version which gave it an interpretation that is not found in the original manuscript.

The eminent historian Antonio Ballesteros Beretta has published the following series of studies on Juan Bautista Muñoz, a neglected leader of eighteenth-century Spain of towering importance: "Don Juan Bautista Muñoz: Dos facetas científicas," *Revista de Indias*, II, no. 3 (1941), 5-37; "Don Juan Bautista Muñoz: La Historia del Nuevo Mundo," *ibid.*, III, no. 10 (1942), 589-660; "Don Juan Bautista Muñoz: La creación del Archivo de Indias," *ibid.*, II, no. 4 (1941), 55-95.

Vicente Rodríguez Casado's *Primeros años de la dominación española en la Luisiana*, Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Madrid, 1942, pp. 495, is a well-documented account of the administrations of the first two governors of Spanish Louisiana, Ulloa and O'Reilly, with numerous illustrations, including photographs of seven maps of the region, and 120 pages of appendices of illustrative documents.

Among the volumes recently received from the Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional of Portugal, the following two works are worthy of special mention: Manuel Múrias, *Brève Histoire de la Colonisation Portugaise*, Lisbon, 1940, 157 pp., and *A Restauração e o Império Colonial Português*, edited by Júlio Cayolla, Lisbon, 1940, 545 pp. The latter volume, a collaborative work, throws much new light on the restoration of the Portuguese empire in 1640. The studies included are the following: Manuel Múrias, "Consequências imediatas da união com a Espanha na decadência do Império Colonial Português"; Damião Peres, "O Império Português na hora da Restauração"; and on the reconquest of the Empire: Pedro Calmon, "Brasil político-militar"; Hélio Viana, "Brasil social"; Coronel Leite de Magalhães, "Costa da Guiné"; Gastão Sousa Dias, "S. Tomé e Angola"; General Teixeira Botelho, "Costa Oriental"; General Ferreira Martins, "Oriente"; and Gastão de Melo de Matos, "Vinte anos de batalhas." The volume contains a preface and conclusion by the general editor, and a general bibliography.

Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, S. J., is the editor of Francisco Javier Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo's *El Nuevo Luciano de Quito, 1779*, volume IV of the *Clásicos Ecuatorianos*, Quito, 1943, xxvii, 238 pp. Carefully edited, it constitutes the best printed text of this important work of the *mestizo* Espejo, one of the precursors of the independence movement of Ecuador, and a dynamic spokesman for social and educational reform in his native land during the late colonial period. The text, comprehensively annotated by Father Espinosa Pólit, is preceded by a fine biographical sketch of Espejo by the Ecuadorian literary historian, Isaac J. Barrera.

Attention is called to Father Francis Borgia Steck's *A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands*, The Cath-

olic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, 1943, 106 pp. This little guide includes the latest periodical literature on the subject up to the close of the year 1942, and will be extremely useful to all those interested in the Spanish Borderlands. The author plans to publish supplements containing items appearing since 1942. This bibliographical guide cannot be praised too highly; it should be among the bibliographical references in every library.

J. M. E.

Estudios Históricos, a semiannual review, whose scope is the publication of research articles and documents, completed its first year in 1943. Its director is Dr. Luis Medina Ascensio, and its home is Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. An example of what is forthcoming readily catches the eye. In the July number Dr. Ascensio presents "The Holy See and the Mexican Emancipation, Part I." The author has been collecting materials these many years on this exceedingly difficult topic embracing the years 1810 to 1835. He patterns his study on the work of Pedro Leturia describing the relations between the Papacy and Simón Bolívar. Source materials have been gathered from the secret Vatican Archives, as well as from Spain, France, Holland, and the United States. The difficulties of the Spanish American revolutionaries, civilian and clerical, are clear from this introductory chapter. In 1810 Napoleon controlled continental Europe. Ferdinand VII of Spain, who could nominate prelates for Mexico, was a prisoner. The Pope, who appointed bishops, was also a prisoner. Contact between the Papacy and the Church in Mexico was disrupted. Hence, Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore had been made Prefect Apostolic of North America, including Mexico. Prelates of Mexico, as well as the patroit-priest, Father Morelos, made attempts to get commissioners to the United States, for the purposes of gaining political recognition, material aid, and of establishing relations with the Church as represented by Carroll. These preliminary problems, like the preliminary moves toward emancipation, soon merged into greater problems of Church and State relations.

To encourage teaching Illinois history in the public schools, one of the aims of the Illinois State Historical Society, Paul M. Angle and Richard L. Beyer present "A Handbook of Illinois History" in the Papers in Illinois History for 1941 (Springfield, 1943). The "Handbook" runs almost a hundred pages. It is divided into eleven chapters. Each of these briefly outlines the events of a period and is followed by ample bibliography. A general descriptive list at the end covers twenty pages, for whose compilation the authors express indebtedness to Miriam Hole Delahay. Many educators have contributed aid and suggestions. The project was well worth while, for there now is available a ready means to introduce courses suitable to each level of instruction and, moreover, for adult self-instruction.

The Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas has published in book form the Proceedings of the Inter American Conference on Intellectual Interchange of June 16 and 17, 1943. The volume of 188 pages in paper cover is entitled *Inter American Intellectual Interchange*. It is divided into six parts, according to the headings of the sessions of the conference. The three papers of the first session have to do with the backgrounds, problems, materials, and permanent values of intellectual exchange. The second session was on philosophy, literature, and science, concluding with Professor Ordóñez's illustrated account of "The New Volcano of Parícutin." In Part III there is one paper by Dr. Torres Rioseco. The following session was concerned with the teaching of history as a vehicle of intellectual exchange with papers by Carlos Castañeda, Arturo Arnáiz y Freg, and Arthur P. Whitaker. The final two sessions were on the Fine Arts in the Americas and "Old and New Argentine Universities."

A series of fifty works by Brazilian authors under the general title of *Biblioteca Popular Brasileira* is being published by the Ministério da Educação e Saude, Instituto Nacional do Livro. The volumes are new editions designed to furnish the public with important texts which otherwise are unavailable to many readers. They are the classics of Brazilian literature in the wider sense. The originals are strictly adhered to, except for necessary changes in orthography. Considerable benefits of this noteworthy project should come to students in the United States who have so long felt the need of a full shelf of readings on Brazil.

Book Reviews

George Fitzhugh, Propagandist of the Old South. By Harvey Wish. Southern Biography Series. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, La. 1943. Pp. 351.

Dr. Wish has given us the first full-length portrait of the man who was probably the most influential proslavery propagandist of the 1850's. George Fitzhugh spent most of his life in the Northern Neck of Virginia, and his thinking was circumscribed by this fact. Never consistent, Fitzhugh modified his views with changing times, but his great influence was exerted between 1855 and 1860 when his thesis was that slavery, rather than being a necessary evil, was a positive good. This was the theme of his two books, *Sociology for the South*, published in 1854, and *Cannibals All*, which appeared in 1856. He based his conclusions on history, and argued that slavery, white or black, is the natural condition of the working man. Though he condemned pre-Marxian socialism as one of the fantastic "isms" of the day, he accepted much of its argument, but he reached the very different conclusion that exploitation of the many by the few was socially desirable, and was the only sound basis of civilization. Students of proslavery propaganda have long accepted as fact that Fitzhugh was among the most influential of the Southern publicists in changing the attitude of the South from an apology for slavery to the acceptance of it as a positive good. Wish demonstrates that, by publishing his articles and editorials, often unsigned, in a number of important journals, including the all-important *De Bow's Review*, he created the impression in the North—actually unjustified by the facts—that his views were the views of the whole South. It has long been recognized, too, that Fitzhugh had considerable influence not only on the counterpropaganda of the North, but on thinking of Northern statesmen. It has remained for Dr. Wish, however, to show us how great that influence really was, particularly on Lincoln. He was the real author of the "house-divided" doctrine. Lincoln took it directly from Fitzhugh's writings, though he gave it different implications. With typical inconsistency, Fitzhugh preached Southern nationalism, and opposed secession until it became a fact. He was a late convert to racism, but in his later writings he accepted the then prevailing Southern view of the inherent inferiority of the Negro. Fitzhugh continued to write during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, but his influence had faded, and this period of his life is only an epilogue.

Dr. Wish's book is scholarly, is fully documented, and contains an excellent critical essay on authorities. His viewpoint is objec-

tive—neither laudatory nor hostile. He makes no secret of his disagreement with most of Fitzhugh's ideas, pointing out the striking resemblance that they bear to the totalitarian ideology of our own time, and he reveals some of his subject's foibles, but he does not condemn the man. The book is well written and any reader who is not allergic to history will find it intensely interesting just as a human story.

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The Panama Route, 1848-1869. By John Haskell Kemble. University of California Publications in History, Volume XXIX. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1943. Pp. viii, 316.

This volume is a real contribution to the study of American economic enterprise and the economic unification of the Republic in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. As the author points out in the preface: "For two decades, the Panama route was the best way of travel and communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States. Annually, thousands of passengers went over it eastward and westward, as well as vast volumes of mail and treasure. Its paddle-wheelers and dugout canoes, its mule trains and snorting locomotives formed a vital part of the communication system of the United States. . . . When the initial novelty of 1849 had worn off, travel by Panama came to be taken as a matter of course. It has therefore received less attention than other more picturesque but less really significant phases in the history of American transportation." In 1869 the transcontinental railroad eclipsed the Panama route in all its functions, but "throughout its formative years, the Pacific seaboard's communication with the nation and with the world was chiefly by the Panama route."

The first chapter of the book describes briefly the historical background of the Pacific coast area up to the time of the acquisition of California and the title to Oregon; the desire on the part of the government to provide some regular means of communication with the region following these developments; and the first schemes for developing land and sea routes to the Pacific coast. A steam mail line by way of Panama was desirable for two reasons: to provide regular mail service to the Pacific coast, and at the same time to put into operation auxiliary naval vessels which might be used effectively in time of war. By the close of the year 1848 the mail service was ready to go into operation, "with corporate structures reared upon some of the great mercantile fortunes of New York and with steamers built and ready to carry out the duties set for them." By January 1849, vessels of the United States Mail Steamship Company and the Pacific Mail were at Chagres and Panama, and the route was in full operation. The "Pioneer Years, 1849-1851," were years

of lively competition, and during the Gold Rush the lack of adequate passenger facilities and ship personnel were a real problem. The period from 1851 to 1860, described as the era of "The Battle of the Titans," saw the entry of Cornelius Vanderbilt and Edward Mills into the field. Among other things, Vanderbilt opened a route over the Isthmus of Nicaragua which rivaled that of Panama. By 1859 the Vanderbilt steamers became the "mail steamers," and the ships that had been carrying the mails for over a decade passed into the position of "opposition." The story of this "exciting, if also ruinous, competition," constitutes one of the best chapters in the book. "The Closing Years, 1860-1869" can almost be called peaceful in contrast to the previous period. The author then devotes two chapters to a description of the Panama steamers, and the conditions aboard ship. This is followed by an excellent account of the history of "The Isthmian Link" during the period. Here the author presents many interesting facts on the social as well as the economic aspects of the story. The final chapter is a brief summation.

Five detailed appendices describe the steamers that operated on the isthmian routes, and list the number of passengers carried, the treasure shipments from San Francisco, and the builders of the engines and steamers for the route. The notes, an extensive bibliography, and a carefully prepared index complete the volume. The volume contains fifteen illustrations and two maps.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

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Daniel Carroll A Framer of the Constitution. By Sister Mary Virginia Geiger. Catholic University of America, Washington, 1943. Pp. viii, 210.

Daniel Carroll has suffered eclipse by more distinguished relatives. His brother John, the first Archbishop of Baltimore, and his cousin Charles of Carrollton are well known and each has his biographers. Daniel Carroll by contrast, despite important positions in the government of his state and in the national government, is relatively unknown. To rescue him from neglect and obscurity is one of the purposes of this study.

Born in 1730, Daniel Carroll during his life span of sixty-six years achieved distinction in the business world and in political life. To the large dowry of his wife he added much as merchant, tobacco planter and exporter, and speculator in land. Thus he accumulated great wealth. In 1777 he became a member of the Maryland Council of State, and in 1781 he entered the state senate. Simultaneously he served as a member of the Continental Congress where he announced Maryland's belated acceptance of the Articles of Confederation. In time he was elected to membership in the convention called to revise these Articles. With the establishment of government under the

Constitution, for the ratification of which by his state he was largely instrumental, he was chosen one of Maryland's representatives in the first Federal Congress. Here he distinguished himself as an advocate of strong national government, and to this end he voted for Hamilton's assumption plan. When his term of office expired, he was appointed by President Washington a member of the commission for the projected federal city, in which capacity he combated the grandiose schemes of l'Enfant. Resigning in May 1795 because of ill health, he died the following May.

This study is evidently the fruit of much labor and painstaking research. Footnotes are numerous and full. The text however could have been made more readable by relegating mere statistics, such as tables of Carroll's pay for services (pp. 152, 170) to the footnotes, where they really belong. The first chapter is a careful excursion into the wilds of genealogy, and in wandering the reader is befuddled and lost. To genealogists it has its appeal, but the general reader may omit it without loss. Too frequently words are used without sufficient regard for their precise meaning. For example, on page 33 we read, 'But manuscript material to support the authenticity of the statement is missing.' There is no question here of authenticity, but merely of correctness. And it is an exaggeration to state (p. 183) that Carroll's efforts as quartermaster—he was one of many so engaged—contributed as much to eventual victory as any engagement of the war. Daniel Carroll's contribution to the American cause is too genuine to need extravagant claims. As a pioneer effort in a largely unexplored field this study has real merit, but it cannot be acclaimed the definitive biography of Daniel Carroll.

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The Beginnings of Catholicism in South Dakota. By Sister M. Claudia Duratschek, O. S. B. Catholic University Press, Washington, 1943. Pp. xiii, 271.

The author has succeeded in writing the general story of the foundation of the Catholic Church in South Dakota. She traces the activities of the missionaries, from the days of French penetration into South Dakota, down through the era of struggling Indian missions, and finishes with the establishment and development of a stable, organized diocese in the State. This whole ecclesiastical history is nicely interwoven with the necessary civil events. Not a few anecdotes add much to the readability as well as to the interest of the book.

This doctoral dissertation, as its author says, "breaks new ground historically and so suffers from the limitations of pioneer work." The strong and weak points of the book are in direct proportion to the number of extant and available documents pertaining to any par-

ticular portion of the study: It is not surprising, therefore, that the role of Benedictine priests and sisters, of priests of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, and members of a few sisterhoods easily dominate the story, since more materials concerning the work of these groups were available. Missionary and pastoral activities of the diocesan clergy, of the Jesuits, and of a few congregations of religious women are not ignored but are much less satisfactorily treated, owing to the brevity and fragmentary nature of pertinent sources.

In case of a future revision or further expansion of this book, a few deficiencies should be noted. The manner of citing documents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is neither consistent nor (with two exceptions) adequately specific. "Hanson" (p. 145, note 99) should be "Hansen," and note 142 on page 111 in its present brief form is apt to occasion an erroneous impression.

However, these are minor points in a work that fulfills its admitted purpose of being the first, and not the last word on the topic.

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The Contribution of the Jesuits to the Exploration and Anthropology of South America

The year 1767 is one of the most fateful in the history of Latin America. For thousands of Indians it spelled misery or death and for human knowledge it ushered in a period of darkness which lasted almost one hundred years. In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from America, their missions destroyed, and their scientific activities brusquely interrupted.

The disaster which befell the Order affected anthropology as well. Only at the end of the nineteenth century do works again appear which may be compared in value with the descriptions of native customs and institutions written by the Jesuits during the two hundred years of their spiritual conquest of the continent. Had it not been for the intelligent curiosity and scientific spirit of so many Jesuit missionaries, our knowledge of the South American Indian would have been meager and sketchy indeed.

So considerable is their contribution to the anthropology of South America that it would be impossible even to list within the framework of a brief paper all the Jesuit sources used by the modern anthropologists to reconstruct the Indian past. The achievements of the Jesuits can best be illustrated by citing some outstanding writers in a single area, like the Gran Chaco.

The Chaco is a forbidding plain which stretches across the center of the South American continent from the Andes to the Paraguay and Paraná rivers and which forms a transition area between the Pampas and the tropical forest. It was inhabited, and still is in part, by half-nomadic, warlike tribes who fiercely

EDITOR'S NOTE: This paper was read at the Fifty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in New York, December 30, 1943.

resisted the inroads of white colonization and who, after acquiring the horse, became a serious threat to the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in Paraguay, the Argentine, and Mato-Grosso. At the price of great sufferings the first conquistadors of the La Plata basin succeeded in crossing these dry deserts and in reaching the Andes, but until the nineteenth century efforts to found towns in the Chaco or even to subjugate its inhabitants failed completely.

Yet, the most formidable Indian tribes in the Chaco—the Abipon, the Mocovi, and the Mbayá—were partly won over by missionaries of the Company of Jesus without resort to political or military pressure. The efforts made by the Jesuits to pacify these Indians, who had terrorized the Spanish towns and settlements, were prompted by Christian zeal, but also perhaps to demonstrate their usefulness to the Spanish empire. Moreover, they hoped to establish through the Chaco direct links between the flourishing missions of Paraguay and those of eastern Bolivia.

The Jesuits probably would have extended their rule throughout the Chaco if the Order had not been expelled. When they left, the regions pacified by them were partly lost to the white man and some areas remained *terra incognita* down to the present.

The anthropology of the Chaco was enriched by five great Jesuit books: *Historia de Abiponibus, equestri, bellicosaque Paraquariae natione* by Martin Dobrizhoffer;¹ *El Paraguay católico* by José Sánchez Labrador;² *Hin und her* by Florián Baucke;³ *Descripción corográfica del Gran Chaco Gualamba* by Pedro Lozano;⁴ and finally *Saggio sulla storia naturale della provincia del Gran Chaco* by José Jolis.⁵ Other accounts of the same period also by Jesuits could be cited. From our modern point of view these five are outstanding sources of information.

The best known, of course, is the *Historia de Abiponibus* by

¹ Martin Dobrizhoffer (1717-1791), *Historia de Abiponibus, equestri, bellicosaque Paraquariae natione*, . . . 3 volumes, Vienna, 1784. German translation, 3 volumes, Vienna, 1783-1784; English translation, 3 volumes, London, 1822.

² José Sánchez Labrador (1717-1799), *El Paraguay católico*, 4 volumes, Buenos Aires, 1910-1936. (Unpublished previously.)

³ Florián Baucke (1719-1780), *Hin und her* . . . Several abridged editions have appeared since the early nineteenth century, the most important being that of Andrés Kobler, *Pater Florián Baucke, ein Jesuit in Paraguay (1748-1766)*, Regensburg, New York, Cincinnati, 1870.

⁴ Pedro Lozano (1697-1759), *Descripción corográfica del Gran Chaco Gualamba*, Instituto de Antropología, Tucumán, 1941.

⁵ José Jolis, *Saggio sulla storia naturale della provincia del Gran Chaco*, Faenza, 1789.

Dobrizhoffer, which, soon after its publication in 1784, was translated into German and English. During the whole nineteenth century it was one of the most often quoted sources in the field of the new science of anthropology and sociology. Furthermore it remains one of the few excellent monographs on any South American tribe. The author, an Austrian father, spent seven years among the wild Abipon of the Gran Chaco. Upon his return to Austria, to quote the poet Southey

So he the years of his old age employed
A faithful chronicler in handing down
Names which he loved, and things well worthy to be known.⁶

His descriptions roused great interest in a public that was newly aware of and curious about the "noble savage."

After giving us a fairly accurate picture of the geographical milieu and a good account of the historical background of the missions, Dobrizhoffer proceeds to speak of the Abipon much as any ethnographer might do today. His statements on the material culture and economic life of his Indians are precise and fairly complete. They have been amply verified by observations made among modern Indians of the Chaco. His account becomes invaluable when he deals with religion and social institutions. For no modern tribe of the Chaco have we such a wealth of detail on ceremonies, etiquette, and beliefs. He devotes many pages to descriptions of social groups, such as military societies, which today have vanished. He is one of the first to have observed that Indian chieftainship was based mainly on continual acts of generosity. Modern anthropology has grown increasingly interested in social psychology and in collective neuroses. On these subjects little is to be found in the literature, and therefore it is a real surprise to discover that Dobrizhoffer describes at length a special type of insanity which assumed epidemic proportions.

As he had mastered the Abipon language, he used the modern procedure of quoting both the native terms for objects and institutions and whole sentences which directly express the feelings and the ideas of his informants. Here are, for instance, the reactions of the people to an irate shaman who threatens to turn into a jaguar: "Look! Alas, his whole body is beginning to be covered with jaguar spots. Look! his nails are growing." When asked by Dobrizhoffer why they did not fear real jaguars but only imaginary ones, they gave him this revealing answer: "We

⁶ Robert Southey, *A Tale of Paraguay*, London, 1826, Canto II.

never fear, but kill all jaguars in the plain, because we can see them. Supernatural jaguars, we do fear, because they can neither be seen nor killed by us." The French sociologist, Levy-Bruhl, in his famous work on *Primitive Mentality*, has used that sentence to illustrate the difference between the logic and the mystic aspects of primitive thought. Many other anecdotes told by Dobrizhoffer evoke Abipon life in all its color and complexity.

Less well known but of equal scientific value is Sánchez Labrador's monumental work, *El Paraguay natural ilustrado* and *El Paraguay católico*. The first part is still unpublished and, according to Father Furlong, would fill about forty volumes. Of the second series of his Paraguayan and Chaco studies four volumes have appeared. Two deal with the ethnography of the Mbayá and with a geographical and botanical description of their milieu. A third volume contains his grammar and dictionary of the Mbayá language. The fourth volume deals with the ethnography and geography of the Province of Buenos Aires and of Patagonia.

Sánchez Labrador, who spent thirty-three years in South America, devoted seven of them to the conversion of the most bellicose Chaco tribe, the Mbayá. In 1766 he discovered a direct way from his mission of Belén in Paraguay to the Mission of San Ignacio in Chiquitos, thus fulfilling the long cherished project of the Jesuits of uniting their missions of Bolivia with those of Paraguay.

This apostle to the Mbayá, this explorer of the Chaco boreal, was at heart a naturalist. But unlike the great scientist of the nineteenth century whose interest in the Indian always remained superficial, Sánchez Labrador was as exact and minute in his descriptions of Indian techniques and ceremonies as in his classifications of plants. His anthropological papers lack perhaps the gusto and picturesqueness of Dobrizhoffer's account, but they are not less abundant in details and relevant facts. Among other items he gives us an unequalled picture of the strongly stratified Mbayá society, of its haughty aristocrats, its warriors, its serfs and slaves. Just as the publication in 1910 of his manuscripts clarified the confused classification of Indian tribes in the northern Chaco, no doubt his papers on the Guaraní will provide new data on this celebrated but little known tribe.

The work of Florián Baucke also will be entirely appreciated only when its complete manuscript has been published. Though an abridged edition had already been published in 1870, the first

part of the Spanish translation of the original manuscript appeared only last year. Baucke lacked somewhat the anthropological curiosity which characterized his two colleagues, and his bulky work, entitled *Hin und her*, is more of a diary with all kinds of digressions than a systematic account of Indian life. Nonetheless, it is a rich mine for the anthropologist, the more so since Baucke, who was not a great artist, endeavored to draw the types and the scenes he had under his eyes. These pictures, reproduced by Father Furlong in a special album,⁷ are invaluable for the student, who thus is made acquainted with many aspects of the material culture of the now extinct or almost extinct Mocovi Indians. The homely touch and the profuse details which fill this work clearly evoke life in a Jesuit mission with all its miseries, its struggles, and its simple greatness. Those interested in the "psychology of conversion" may be referred to the conversations and the case histories included by Baucke in his notes.

Lozano was another type of Jesuit scholar. His classic, *Descripción corográfica del Gran Chaco Gualamba*, is a compilation of documents rather than an original work, yet it is equally precious since it gives information on tribes otherwise unknown.

Mention must also be made of Jolis, *Saggio sulla storia naturale*, of which only the first volume has been published. This Jesuit, who lived among the little known tribes of the western Chaco, was a scientist of rare distinction. The data on the Indians scattered throughout this first volume make one regret doubly the loss of the rest of his work which was dedicated to the ethnography of the Chaco.

Father Guillermo Furlong-Cardiff, also a Jesuit, has published in recent years a series of monographs dedicated to the history of the Jesuit missions among Chaco tribes. These contain many documents of great interest to the scholar on the vanished peoples of the Argentine Chaco.

The anthropologist feels a debt of gratitude to the numerous Jesuit fathers who wrote the *Annuae litterae*, which later were utilized by such great historians as Du Toit, Lozano, Charlevoix, Ovalle, Vasconcellos, and others.

The upper reaches of the Amazon were, and in part still are, occupied by hundreds of small tribes, belonging to a very large number of linguistic stocks. Their classification would have been impossible had it not been for the Jesuit writers. Although a few

⁷ Guillermo Furlong, ed., *Florián Baucke: iconografía colonial rioplatense, 1749-1767, costumbres y trajes de españoles, criollos e indios*, Buenos Aires, 1935.

modern anthropologists have made worth-while contributions to the ethnography of that area, the bulk of our knowledge even now rests on the works of such authors as Francisco Figueroa,⁸ José Chantre y Herrera,⁹ Franz Xavier Veigl,¹⁰ Father Samuel Fritz,¹¹ and on the documents gathered by Father Maroni and published by Jiménez de la Espada under the title *Noticias auténticas del famoso río Marañón*.¹²

Likewise our main sources of information on the ethnography of the plains and forested area of eastern Bolivia are the letters and reports of the Jesuit missionaries to their Superiors and reprinted in various South American collections and journals.¹³ The Mojo, who today are completely assimilated to the Creole population, represented a strange civilization combining old Amazonian elements with strong influences from the Andes. They enjoyed considerable prestige in Pre-Hispanic America and the legends around the "Gran Mojo" enticed the Spaniards into several disastrous adventures.

Whatever is known about the ethnology of the ancient Mojo is due entirely to Jesuit fathers like Marbán, José Castillo, Altamirano, and especially Francisco Xavier Eder's, *Descriptio Provinciae Mojitarum*. Actually Eder describes the Christianized Mojo, but he was still able to observe a great many of their ancient customs and his accounts of their economic activities and of their feasts are invaluable.

Likewise Brother Lucas Caballero left a short treatise on the religion of the Manasi, a tribe now extinct, whom he discovered in the very center of the continent in 1706.¹⁴ His is the only de-

⁸ Francisco Figueroa, *Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas*, Madrid, 1904.

⁹ José Chantre y Herrera (1738-1801), *Historia de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el Marañón español (1637-1767)*, Madrid, 1901.

¹⁰ Franz Xavier Veigl (1723-1798), *Gründliche Nachrichten über die Verfassung der Landschaft von Maynas in Süd-Amerika, bis zum Jahre 1768*, Nurnberg, 1785.

¹¹ Samuel Fritz (1656-c. 1728-1730), *Journal of the travels and labours of . . . in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1733*, The Hakluyt Society, second series, no. 51, London, 1922.

¹² Paul Maroni, *Noticias auténticas del famoso río Marañón y misión apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de Quito en los dilatados bosques de dicho río*. Written in 1737 and published in *Boletín de la Sociedad geográfica de Madrid*, Vols. 26-33, 1889-1892.

¹³ For the bibliography of the Jesuit literature on eastern Bolivia, see A. Métraux, *The Native Tribes of Eastern Bolivia and Western Matto Grosso*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bul. 134, Washington, 1942, and "The Social Organization and Religion of the Mojo and Manasi," *Primitive Man*, Vol. 16, nos. 1-2, 1943.

¹⁴ Hermano Lucas Caballero, *Relación de las costumbres y religión de los indios manasicas*. Estudio preliminar y edición del ms. de 1706 por Manuel Serrano y Sanz, Madrid, n. d.

tailed ethnographic study of any of the Chiquito groups, a powerful nation which extended from the Andes to the Paraguay River. Caballero's monograph reveals a religious system which blends in a well-organized cult of old Amazonian shamanism with a pantheon of gods of Peruvian origin.

Such anthropological classics as the works of Joseph Gumilla,¹⁵ Gilij,¹⁶ Juan Rivero,¹⁷ Fernão Cardim,¹⁸ Falkner,¹⁹ to quote at random, have all been written by members of the Company.

Whoever has handled the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources on South America cannot avoid being struck by the literary qualities which characterize Jesuit documents. Most of them are written in a clear and elegant language and they rarely suffer from the stylistic obscurities which so often mar other accounts.

The Jesuits also laid the foundation of linguistic studies in South America. Thanks to them, countless languages now extinct were recorded and saved from oblivion. The rules of the Company made it compulsory for each missionary to speak the language of the people among whom he lived. The grammar of the Tupi language which Father Anchietta wrote in 1556, at once became a powerful instrument in the conversion of the Brazilian Indians.²⁰ During the same year a course in Tupi language was inaugurated at the Jesuit college of Bahia. So great was the importance attached by the Company to the knowledge of native languages that its students in Brazil who were weak in Latin could redeem themselves at the examination if they had a good command of Tupi. A missionary had to learn the vernacular and write a glossary, and if possible a grammar, as a preliminary step toward the evangelization of a new group of Indians. Although their grammars were patterned of course after the rules of Latin

¹⁵ Joseph Gumilla (c. 1690-1750), *El Orinoco defendido y ilustrado*, Barcelona, 1791.

¹⁶ Phil. Salv. Gilij (1721-1789), *Saggio di Storia americana*, Roma, 1780-1784.

¹⁷ Juan Rivero (c. 1681-1685-1736), *Historia de las misiones de los llanos de Casanare y los rios Orinoco y Meta* (written in 1736), Bogotá, 1883.

¹⁸ Fernão Cardim (1548-1625), *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil* (written in the sixteenth century), Rio de Janeiro, 1925, 2d ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

¹⁹ Thomas Falkner (1707-1784), *Description of Patagonia*, London, 1774.

²⁰ José de Anchietta (1534-1597). First published in Coimbra, 1595, under the title *Arte de grammatica da lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil*. Many subsequent editions. Facsimile edition by Julius Platzmann, Leipzig, 1874.

speech, the Jesuits took a great interest in these barbaric tongues and were the first to realize their intricacies and difficult phonetics. Again, a simple enumeration of the linguistic works of the Company would be beyond the scope of this paper and it must suffice to mention here Montoya's monumental Guaraní dictionary and grammar,²¹ Bertonio's Aymara dictionary,²² and Valdivia's works on Araucanian.²³ Some of these linguistic works are still used by scholars, since no better ones have taken their place.

The linguistic labors of the Jesuits culminated in Hervás' great survey of the languages of the world.²⁴ His was the first attempt to list all the native languages of the Americas and to classify them according to their relationships. Hervás used mainly the information furnished by the expelled missionaries. Many linguistic families have remained as Hervás established them and for scores of languages we are still dependent on his evidence. That such work was possible at the end of the eighteenth century is due entirely to the scientific ingenuity of the Jesuits.

The abundance of maps prepared by the Jesuits demonstrate their keen interest in geography. The University of La Plata published a few years ago a *Cartografía jesuítica*²⁵ of the region of the La Plata basin which contains fifty-one maps. Some are remarkably exact and for various areas have hardly been modified in recent years.

As in North America, the Jesuits of South America were great explorers, but it would be impossible here to follow them in all their trips and discoveries. In 1593 several Jesuits, among them Father Barzana, crossed the southern Chaco, a deed which was only repeated by military expedition about two hundred years later. In 1641 Father Acuña accompanied the Teixeira expedition down the Amazon and gave us the first scientific descrip-

²¹ Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1593-1652), *Arte, Vocabulario, Tesoro y Catecismo de la lengua Guaraní*, Madrid, 1639. Facsimile edition by Julius Platzmann, Leipzig, 1876.

²² Louis Bertonio (1555-1628), *Arte y gramática muy copiosa de la lengua Aymara*, Rome, 1603. Several later editions. Facsimile edition by Julius Platzmann, Leipzig, 1879.

²³ Luis de Valdivia (1561-1642), *Catecismo en lengua Allentiaci. Arte y gramática general de la lengua que corre en todo el reyno de Chile*, Lima, 1606. Several later editions. Facsimile edition by Julius Platzmann, Leipzig, 1887.

²⁴ Lorenzo Hervás Panduro (1735-1809). For listings of Hervás' extensive, well-known pioneer linguistic studies, cf. Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 11 volumes, Bruxelles-Paris, 1890-1932, IV, 318-325.

²⁵ Guillermo Furlong, *Cartografía jesuítica del Río de la Plata*, 2 volumes, Buenos Aires, 1936.

tion of the geography of the great Brazilian artery. In 1654 Father Raymundo de Santa Cruz in ascending the Napo found a short route from the missions of the Huallaga to Quito and perished on one of his expeditions. Father Fritz, the apostle to the Omaguas, was also an intrepid explorer. His vast knowledge of the geography of the Upper Amazon allowed him to make a map of these regions which became justly famous. The basin of the Mamoré and Guaporé was explored in 1674 by another Jesuit, Father Baraza. From 1701 to 1757 the Jesuits entered the deserts of southern Chiquitos and northern Chaco to collect the Zamuco Indians into missions. They Christianized Indians whose descendants returned to the wilderness, never to be seen after the padres left.

Few explorers of the nineteenth century ever faced the hardships encountered by the Jesuit pioneers who abandoned themselves to the current of uncharted rivers "*ad maiorem Dei gloriam.*" Their accounts speak again and again of the same miseries: hunger, mosquitos, malaria, dysentery, and often hostile natives. Many perished in these adventures, others returned with maps showing new rivers, new lands, and new people. Isolation in the jungle and constant struggles with rough nature and men often lower the white man's morale and sap his energy. Yet, how alert, how keenly interested in the surrounding world the Jesuits remained after years of lonely hardship! Descriptions of their adventures and of conditions faced in the outposts of their mission empire cause one to wonder how they found time for anthropological, linguistic, and geographical pursuits.

The anthropologist is not the only one who can profit by reading the works of the Jesuits. A time will surely come when historians will be more interested than they seem to be now in reconstructing colonial life in South America, a faithful image of which they will find in such works as those described. Those who know the interior of South America will be surprised to discover how few changes have occurred in three hundred years.

South American ethnography and geography are still fields partly unexplored. May the investigators of our time show as great intelligence, culture, energy, and enthusiasm as their precursors of the Company of Jesus.

ALFRED MÉTRAUX

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El Rio Del Espiritu Santo

(Concluded)

VIII

If there is any country where the name of the greatest of all rivers which empty into the Gulf of Mexico should have been known, that country is Spain. Spaniards had explored the Gulf more than a century and a half before La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, and after 1686, when they named the Mississippi, they continued their search for the Bahía del Espiritu Santo into which, according to their maps, the Rio del Espiritu Santo discharged itself. This latter fact alone disposes of the gratuitous contention that the Mississippi was well known in government circles under the name of Rio del Espiritu Santo. Such an affirmation is certainly not based on cartographical or documentary evidence.

Twenty-five years ago, W. E. Dunn treated in detail of the rediscovery of the Gulf Coast by the Spaniards in a book which is still the only authoritative work on the subject.¹ In following his narrative, we shall call attention to those documents which indicate what knowledge of the geography of the Gulf of Mexico was possessed by the Spaniards in the last years of the seventeenth century.

In the first months of 1684, a Spanish pilot, Martín Echa-garay,² presented to the King of Spain a memorial in which he proposed means to guard against the French menace in Florida, and offered to explore the coast from Apalache to Tampico. His knowledge of the coast, however, was very vague and was derived partly from a study of antiquated sea charts, partly from what he understood the Indians of Spanish Florida to have told him. From the port of Apalache to Tampico, according to his memorial,

there are 300 leagues [of coast] . . . In this region there are rivers of great volume (muy caudalosos). In particular the Bahía del Espiritu Santo is located there, 220 leagues from Vera Cruz and 140 leagues

¹ W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702. The Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola*, Austin, Texas, 1917.

² On Echagaray, cf. Dunn, *op. cit.*, 20, note 19.

from the port of Apalache [present-day St. Marks, Florida]. Sea charts indicate this bay as being one of the best harbors. I learned from Indians who live on [the shores of] this bay and who are today living in the Apalache mission, that two very great rivers flow into it, one coming from a vast province called *Mouila*, it is not known where this river has its headwaters, but the other river comes from New Mexico.³

Like all Spanish pilots, Echagaray's distances are given in Spanish sea leagues, of which there are seventeen and one-half to a degree of latitude, approximately 3.9 miles to a league. By converting into miles the distance from Vera Cruz to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, we see that the latter would be located on a modern map near the mouth of the Sabine River; and by converting into miles the distance from Apalache to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, leaving out the delta of which Echagaray had no knowledge, the Bahía del Espíritu Santo would be in the vicinity of Calcasieu Pass, Louisiana. His description of this bay, however, applies to Mobile Bay, for it was from this vicinity that the Indians had come to the Apalache mission, and the two rivers which empty into his Bahía del Espíritu Santo are in fact the Alabama River which comes from the *Mouila* country, and the Tombigbee River, whose lower course comes from the north-northwest, *i. e.*, from the general direction of New Mexico. His identification of our Mobile Bay with the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, although erroneous, is pertinent to the question at issue because, first, Echagaray does not name either of the two *rios muy caudalosos*, although on the map or maps of the Gulf which he had a Rio del Espíritu Santo was shown emptying into this bay; and secondly, if his Bahía del Espíritu Santo is Mobile Bay, it is clear that any river which he describes as emptying into it cannot be the Mississippi.

The main point of Echagaray's proposal with reference to the French menace was to transport to Florida fifty Spanish families from the Canary Islands and twenty-four Indian families from Campeche. The memorial was sent to the Consulado of the Casa de la Contratación, but was set aside as simply a scheme "to sell goods, free of all duties in Florida, Havana, and Campeche." Echagaray's appeal to the Council of the Indies late in 1684 was more favorably received, and his plan was approved by the *fiscal* whose report is dated April 11, 1685. The Junta de

³ Echagaray Expediente, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Mexico, 61-6-20. The quotations are from transcripts in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Guerra adopted this official's recommendations two months later, and the royal *cédula* in which Echagaray's offer was accepted was promulgated August 2, 1685.⁴

In his letter covering the memorial of 1684, Echagaray had advocated fortifying the Bahía del Espíritu Santo "so as to forbid its entrance to the enemy." Owing to the suspicions of the Consulado and the delay in taking action, the "enemy" had been in the places six months when the pilot's plan finally received the formal royal approval; for, in the preceding February, La Salle had planted his colony at Matagorda Bay. This disturbing news came to the Spaniards at the end of October 1685, through Denis Thomas, a member of La Salle's last expedition, who had deserted at Petit Goave. This Frenchman later embarked on a corsair which had been captured by the Spaniards and taken to Vera Cruz. The destination of the La Salle expedition, said the prisoner, was a place called *Micipipi*. To the Spaniards this name meant nothing at all, and although they surmised that the place referred to was somewhere on the Gulf Coast, four and a half years elapsed before they finally located the ruins of La Salle's settlement on the Garcitas River.

On hearing Thomas' account, Admiral Palacios at once consulted his maps and studied

the unfamiliar region north of the Gulf of Mexico. There was clearly only one river leading from New France to the Gulf, along whose course one could travel for five hundred leagues. This was the river shown on the maps of the time as the "Rio del Espíritu Santo," flowing into the famous bay of the same name. Admiral Palacios . . . was not long in concluding that the probable site of the French settlement was on this river and bay. When he estimated the distance from Espíritu Santo to the various ports of Mexico and Florida, finding that it was only one hundred and twenty leagues from Apalache, one hundred and sixty-five from Vera Cruz, the dangerous proximity of the invaders was immediately realized.⁵

The above is Dunn's résumé of Palacios' letter. We shall quote from the letter itself the prisoners' actual words as recorded by the admiral, in order to ascertain to what events of La Salle's voyages they referred; we shall next distinguish this information from Palacios' conclusions, and finally we shall see whether he identified the river descended by La Salle as the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

⁴ Cf. Dunn, *op. cit.*, 25-29.

⁵ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 38.

The prisoners said "that from New France . . . a Frenchman [La Salle] left with four or five other [Frenchmen] and some Indians and proceeded toward the west through an arm of the sea." The *brazo de mar que corre asia el occidente* is clearly the St. Lawrence River and the event referred to is the beginning of La Salle's explorations. "These men were inhabitants of a place in New France called Canada." The prisoners further said that after several months of navigation on this arm of the sea, La Salle and his men "came upon a very great lake, which they crossed on a ship to the end of it." This is an allusion to the *Griffon*, *la embarcazion*, and to the Great Lakes, *una laguna muy grande*. At the end of this laguna "they found another mouth [of a river] which they entered and after a voyage of more than 500 leagues they came upon a bay and a port at the entrance of which there was a small island dividing the river into two channels, and they descended these channels and reached the sea in the Gulf of Mexico." One readily sees that the expedition to the Gulf, 1681-1682, is made to appear as a continuation of the voyage of the *Griffon* in August-September 1679. The distance of more than five hundred leagues, it should be observed, is that from the *laguna muy grande* to the Gulf, and Palacios, like Echagaray and all other Spanish sailors, counted seventeen and one-half leagues for each degree of latitude. Consequently, since on his map the Bahía del Espíritu Santo was at latitude 30°, the mouth of the river at the end of the *laguna* was situated 1,200 miles north of the actual starting point of La Salle's voyage. The last words of the above quotation give the prisoners' version of the arrival of La Salle's party at the head of the passes of the Mississippi.

The fact that none of these men had been with La Salle, and that they were repeating, and probably further distorting what they had heard on the way from France to Santo Domingo, does not in the least affect the question, because Palacios' knowledge was wholly derived from what they told him, and it is on this knowledge that he calculated the position of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo where he thought La Salle had landed.

"When they were about half a league away from the sea the altitude of the sun was taken, but the prisoners declared that they did not know at what latitude they were; all that they know is that this [place] was called *Bahia de Misipipi*." La Salle then returned to France, where the expedition to the Gulf was organized. At Santo Domingo, on his way back, he bought what was

necessary "to start a settlement *a esta Bahía llamada Misipipi*; this was about nine months ago." Here ends the information supplied by the French prisoners, which Palacios then tried to interpret with the help of a sea chart of the Gulf of Mexico.

Considering the distance of 500 leagues over which they traveled, [the bay called Misipipi] can be none other than that which, on the maps, is called Bahía del Espíritu Santo, which, in the Gulf [of Mexico], lies at about latitude 30°, and is 145 leagues from a port named Tampico; from the said port to Vera Cruz there are 60 leagues, and from the said Bahía del Espíritu Santo to Mexico there are 280 leagues, partly along the coast and the rest overland.⁶

Comparing this direct translation of Palacios' letter with Dunn's résumé of it, we see that the latter inserted the name "Rio del Espíritu Santo" which is not mentioned at all. Palacios' reasoning is that the *bay* which the French called Misipipi can be none other than that which on his map is "la Bahía que llaman del espíritu ss.^{to}," situated at latitude 30°. It does not matter that, according to the prisoners, La Salle and his men came down to the bay by way of a river, for the question is, whether Palacios identified this river. Since he did not, we must conclude that the Mississippi was not generally known under the name Rio del Espíritu Santo; otherwise Palacios, an admiral of the Windward Squadron, would surely not have hesitated to make the identification of the river and of the bay.

On October 27, 1685, Palacios wrote to the viceroy apprising him of what he had learned. When the courier reached Mexico City, November 3, an extraordinary council was immediately summoned, and two days later the viceroy issued a decree leaving everything in the hands of Palacios. The speed with which the Spaniards acted is a sufficient indication of their anxiety. Palacios had suggested that the search for La Salle's colony be made from Havana, because he thought the officials of that place were more familiar with the northern Gulf Coast. On November 21, 1685, a ship left Vera Cruz for Havana. On board were two pilots, Juan Enríquez Barroto, "an experienced draughtsman as well as a practical pilot," and Antonio Romero, who "had made many voyages from Havana to Apalache, and was personally

⁶ "Segun los maps en la distancia de 500 leguas que andubieron [the Bahía llamada Misipipi] no puede ser otra sino es la Bahía que llaman de espíritu ss.^{to} q esta en esta ensenada casi en 30 grados de Altura y dista de Vn puerto llamado Tampico 145 leg^a y desde el dho Puerto hasta dela Vera cruz 60 leguas y de la dha Bahía del espíritu ss.^{to} a Mex^{co} ay 280 leguas seguidas parte por costa y los demas p. Tierra adentro," Palacios to ———, November 17, 1685, AGI, Mexico, 61-6-20.

familiar with that portion of the route to be followed." These two men had orders from the viceroy to the authorities of Havana commanding them to equip a vessel for the expeditionary voyage.⁷

One month after the arrival of the pilots at Havana the frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción y San Joseph* left the harbor for the north. From Apalachee Bay, they sailed west, stopping at Pensacola Bay and at Mobile Bay. On March 4, 1686, "at eleven o'clock in the morning," wrote Jordán de la Reina⁸ in the only extant log of the journey,

I reached the extremity of this shore along which were a number of tiny islands formed of mud flats through which poured a large river; the latter I called Palizada river because of the many stranded trees at its mouth; the water flows very swiftly. This was at latitude 29° 3'.⁹

Dunn who supplemented this account with other documents adds that a prominent landmark in the vicinity of the mouth of the Mississippi was christened Cabo de Lodo and that a storm having arisen, the ship was driven to latitude 22°, whence they sailed to Vera Cruz, arriving there on March 13.¹⁰

Toward the end of his report Jordán de la Reina wrote as follows:

I hereby state, Sir, that I believe this stream, to which I gave the name Palizada river, is a hundred leagues from the port of Apalachee; furthermore, I am of the opinion that the bay of Espíritu Santo which we were looking for does not lie on the parallel indicated on the charts; I believe that it is farther west, though not very much.¹¹

These two passages from Jordán de la Reina's journal clearly show that the Mississippi was not known to the Spaniards as the Rio del Espíritu Santo, otherwise the pilot would not have given it a new name, or at least would have said that this was the famous river which appears on so many maps. As can be seen, he specifically stated that the Bahía del Espíritu Santo into which the river of the same name flowed was farther west. When Barroto, Romero, and Jordán de la Reina were at the mouth of the Mississippi, they were at the mouth of the largest of all rivers emptying into the Gulf on the northern coast. Whether

⁷ Dunn, *op. cit.*, 39-40.

⁸ This log has been published in translation by I. A. Leonard, "The Spanish Re-Exploration of the Gulf Coast in 1686," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII, 1936, 551-557.

⁹ Leonard, *loc. cit.*, 556.

¹⁰ Dunn, *op. cit.*, 62.

¹¹ Leonard, *loc. cit.*, 556.

they realized it or not is irrelevant, for the point is that the Mississippi is actually the greatest of all the rivers of Florida, as the Southern United States was known in those days, and it had been described as such by the chroniclers of the De Soto expedition two centuries earlier.

In view of Jordán de la Reina's statements, the following passage from Dunn is somewhat surprising:

In his report to the viceroy, Palacios stated that he believed that the expedition had approached very close to the French colony, for if the voyage had not been interrupted the Mississippi River and Espíritu Santo Bay would doubtless have been reached some thirty leagues west of the Rio de la Palizada (!)."¹²

I have been unable to secure this report of Palacios to the viceroy, wherein he is said to have mentioned the Mississippi River, but I very much doubt if he actually mentioned it. We have seen above that Dunn inserted in another letter of Palacios a "Rio del Espíritu Santo," whereas in the letter itself there is no mention of such a river, but of a *Bahía de Misipipi*, which Palacios thought was the Bahía del Espíritu Santo shown on the maps which he consulted. According to Dunn himself, when the Spaniards were at the mouth of the Mississippi they little realized "that they had discovered the river for which they were seeking." As a matter of fact, the Spaniards were not looking for a river, but for the *Bahía del Espíritu Santo* where they thought that La Salle had planted his colony. Dunn continues:

Their failure to recognize [the Mississippi River] as such, however, is not surprising. That great stream was supposed to empty into the excellent harbor of Espíritu Santo Bay; but no bay was to be seen, and a river whose channel was obstructed by débris was not imagined to be the one which La Salle would have chosen for the site of his settlement.

Here and elsewhere throughout his book, Dunn is taking for granted, without any investigation, that the Rio del Espíritu Santo shown on the Spanish maps was our Mississippi. This is a postulate unsupported by any evidence whatever.

Shortly after the return of the Barroto-Romero expedition Palacios went to Spain, where he summed up the result of the first maritime expedition as follows:

Today the whole coast of the Gulf of Mexico has been discovered and explored, with the exception of the strip from the mouth of the Rio

¹² Dunn, *op. cit.*, 62-63.

de la Empalizada . . . to that of the Rio de Tampico. In this distance of about one hundred leagues lies the Bay of Espíritu Santo, and west of it the Rio Bravo and other rivers which may form sand banks.¹³

As we have seen, Jordán de la Reina thought that the Bahía del Espíritu Santo was west of the mouth of the Mississippi, "though not very much." At Vera Cruz Palacios interpreted this as "some thirty leagues." In order to determine approximately where the admiral located the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, this specific distance is not to be computed on that given by Jordán de la Reina from St. Marks to the mouth of the Mississippi—one hundred leagues according to him—but on the distance given by Palacios; namely, that which he says intervened between the mouth of the Mississippi and Tampico—also one hundred leagues. Thus according to Palacios, the Bahía del Espíritu Santo was situated about one third of the distance between the Rio de la Empalizada and Tampico, that is, between the Sabine River and Galveston Bay; and this again is approximately the location of the bay when its position on early Spanish sea charts of the Gulf of Mexico is transposed on a modern map.

The news of the French "invasion," as La Salle's expedition was called, reached Spain at about the time when Barroto and Romero returned to Vera Cruz from their exploratory journey. The authorities in Spain thought that the intruders had landed at the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and remembering what Echagaray had written two years earlier, they judged that he knew the location of the famous bay and could guide a squadron to dislodge the French. Inquiries as to the present whereabouts of the pilot were made; when he was finally found at Cadiz, they ordered him to come to Seville. In his letter of 1684 Echagaray had said that if more definite information were needed with regard to the location of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, he was prepared to give it "according to a sea chart which is in my possession."

This sea chart¹⁴ was sent to the chairman of the Casa de la Contratación together with a letter dated April 20, 1686, which letter is nothing else than an explanation of the legends on the map.¹⁵ The latter is a graphic representation combining what

¹³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 65, note 12, quoting the statement of Palacios, September 6, 1686, remitted by Oreytia to the Council of the Indies with a letter of September 28, 1686, AGI, Mexico, 61-6-20.

¹⁴ It has no title and is in AGI, Mexico, 61-6-20 (1), photograph in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions; a tracing from a photograph of the original is reproduced in Dunn, *op. cit.*, 44.

¹⁵ Echagaray to Oreytia, April 20, 1686, AGI, Mexico, 61-6-20.

Echagaray had written in 1684 and what Palacios wrote in 1685 after questioning the French prisoners at Vera Cruz. Echagaray's own source of information for La Salle's voyage came from a Spanish boatswain who had been taken prisoner by the French. During the voyage from the Caribbean to France, the captors of this boatswain gave him their version of La Salle's journey to the Gulf in 1682. The *laguna* crossed by the *frances descubridor* for instance, stands for the Great Lakes. From the boatswain Echagaray also learned that La Salle sailed on this *laguna* "until he arrived at the mouth of the two rivers which flow out of the said *laguna* to the *baya del espiritu santo*, as can be seen from the dots" on the map.

This dotted line, however, is inscribed not within the banks of one of the two rivers but within the banks of both, so that from the sketch it is impossible to know which one Echagaray thought was descended by La Salle. He very probably did not know. The two outlets of the *laguna* are possibly the two main routes taken by La Salle in his several exploratory journeys, scl., up the St. Joseph River and down the Kankakee and up the Chicago River to the Des Plaines. In his letter of 1684, it will be recalled, Echagaray had spoken of two rivers emptying into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo. It was only natural that he should combine what he had been told by the Indians with what he had learned from the boatswain. In fact, he repeats in his letter of 1686 the information about the two rivers flowing into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, adding what the Indians had told him about the ignorance of the headwaters of these rivers. "Hence I infer that these two rivers originate in the aforesaid *laguna*, and that this is the route which the said *frances descubridor* may have taken to come down to the *baya del espiritu santo*, and it is my opinion that he could not have followed another route to the Gulf of Mexico where the *baya del espiritu santo* is, as indicated [on the map] by the letter 'V.'" On this map, the bay within which the letter "V" is inscribed has the following legend: "Baya de lo Sp^a S^{to} Misipipi por otro nombre."

Here, therefore, just as in Palacios' report to the viceroy, it is clearly indicated that the *bay* which was called Espíritu Santo was the same as the *bay* which the prisoners told the admiral was named Misipipi. Echagaray gives no name to either of the two rivers followed by the *frances descubridor*, and does not call either of them Rio del Espíritu Santo. And yet, if the Mississippi had been known under that name, and had been as well known

as it is claimed, Echagaray would have unhesitatingly called the river which La Salle descended, Rio del Espíritu Santo.

Dunn prefaces his brief description of Echagaray's map by saying: "An examination of this rude sketch . . . will show concretely the meager knowledge possessed by the Spaniards concerning the interior of the North American continent."¹⁶ This statement is too general, it should read "possessed by Echagaray." It is indeed hard to believe that in the last quarter of the seventeenth century the geographers of the Casa de la Contratación at least were so ignorant of the geography of the interior. Besides their own coastal manuscript maps, there were by that time scores of atlases and single printed maps everywhere in Europe, and most of the maps of Florida were ultimately based on maps made by former members of the Casa. Moreover, five years before Echagaray made this sketch, Thevenot had published a narrative of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition illustrated by a map showing the Mississippi from latitude 45° to the Gulf; on this map also, there are two tributaries of the Mississippi separated, by a short portage, from rivers emptying into Green Bay and into Lake Michigan. In 1683, that is, three years before the date of Echagaray's sketch, Hennepin had published his *Description de la Louisiane*, a book which was soon known all over Europe. In this book there was also a map of the Great Lakes which for all its defects gives an incomparably better picture of the St. Lawrence basin than the crude Echagaray drawing.

In September 1686, the new viceroy of Mexico, the Conde de Monclova, arrived at Vera Cruz with instructions from Madrid directing him to locate the French settlement and dislodge the intruders. He summoned the two pilots of the 1685-1686 expedition and learned from them of their fruitless search for La Salle's colony, which was thought to be planted on the Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Barroto and Romero were again chosen as pilots of the expedition sent out by Monclova. Sailing northward along the coast from Vera Cruz, they disregarded the names inscribed on their maps, and rechristened prominent landmarks; it was at this time that Matagorda Bay, for instance, was named San Bernardo. Continuing their journey northward, they finally reached the Rio de la Palizada. The same two pilots had thus explored the whole Gulf Coast from Vera Cruz to the tip of the Florida peninsula. Not having found any bay which fitted the

¹⁶ Dunn, *op. cit.*, 45.

description of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, they concluded that the only bay which corresponded somewhat with it must be Mobile Bay, where they arrived May 22, and spent three days exploring its waters.¹⁷

The next two paragraphs contain our comments on Dunn's conclusions regarding this identification. "No great river corresponding to the Mississippi or Rio del Espíritu Santo was found flowing into [Mobile Bay]." As we have repeatedly seen, the identification of the two rivers is purely gratuitous, for it supposes what should be proved. In this expedition as in the first, the Spaniards were not looking for a river, great or small, but for a bay where they expected to find the French settlement. On their way up the coast they had examined Matagorda Bay and had found the wreckage of a vessel which, they were convinced, had belonged to the French colony. "Instead [in Mobile Bay] six small streams were found, which could not be navigated even by such small boats as the pirogues." This would seem to indicate that the northern part of the bay was not explored. "In spite of the absence of a large river, however, the Spaniards concluded that they must be at the bay which was shown on the maps as Espíritu Santo." There was no Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the maps where Mobile Bay is, but a bay of that name is shown 500 miles farther west. The pilots' identification is partly based on *a priori* premises; namely, that La Salle must have planted his colony on a bay fit for settlement. As a matter of fact he had landed at one of the least suitable spots of the Gulf Coast, where, as Dunn observes on the preceding page, "the region was so low and swampy that the Spaniards seem to have been convinced that no sane person would attempt to settle there."

"No other body of water [except Mobile Bay] offered any inducements for settlement; . . ." Yet Pensacola Bay, only forty miles away, was much better suited than Mobile Bay both with regard to settlement and with regard to harbor facilities. ". . . Or corresponded so closely to the general description that had been given of Espíritu Santo Bay." This description, whatever it may have been, was derived from maps; and if this description applied to a bay on the northern coast, it corresponded much more closely, both regarding shape and position, to Galveston Bay than to Mobile Bay. Furthermore the characteristic feature in any description of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo is that on the northern shore of this bay a river of the

¹⁷ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 75-77.

same name flows into it. Now, the fact that the explorers only mention six small rivers which could not be navigated by their pirogues, shows that they did not find this characteristic trait. Again, the famous bay is described as an excellent port; but in sounding the entrance of Mobile Bay they only found between twenty and twenty-two spans of water, which even for seventeenth-century ocean-going vessels, would not make an excellent harbor. "In this uncertain fashion was the long-sought-for bay identified, but, no doubt, with entire correctness." Actually, the correctness of this identification is more than doubtful. To say nothing of its difference in shape and its position on the northern coast line, as well as the absence of a large river emptying into it, and the shallow entrance of this bay, there is the fact that these pilots could not have "recognized" this bay, because, as we have seen, they did not identify Mobile Bay with the Bahía del Espíritu Santo on their previous voyage thither.¹⁸

The only plausible explanation for this identification would seem to be the following. All that the Spaniards knew with regard to the position of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo was that their old maps located it in the northwest corner of the Gulf. When Barroto and Romero explored the eastern part of the Gulf Coast in their first expedition, they had assumed that the bay was situated west of the Rio de la Palizada. When they explored the western part of the coast, not finding any bay corresponding to what they expected; namely, an immense bay, a small sea, *mar pequeña*, which was at the same time an excellent harbor, and not wishing to discard a cartographical feature a century and a half old, they called Mobile Bay Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Two years later, when Alonso de León finally found the ruins of La Salle's settlement on the Garcitas River, he was much more logical in calling Matagorda Bay Bahía del Espíritu Santo,¹⁹ because even since the time the Spaniards heard of the coming

¹⁸ Scaife also identified the Bahía del Espíritu Santo with Mobile Bay. When he wrote his essay, however, he had no knowledge of the documents brought to light by Dunn. As we noted in the first of these articles, *supra*, XXV, 1943, 190, Scaife's main reason for denying that the Mississippi was the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers is because, on their maps, the river is shown to empty into a large bay, and this, he rightly contends, cannot be said of the Mississippi in historical times. The texts of the early Spanish chroniclers which he uses to identify the Bahía del Espíritu Santo with Mobile Bay prove nothing at all; and the texts from the writings of the French explorers have no bearing on this identification.

¹⁹ Cf. the itinerary of Alonso de León in H. E. Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration of the Southwest 1542-1706*, New York, 1930, 388, 399-400; the letter of Father Massanet, *ibid.*, 353, 362-363; the opinion of Pez and Barroto on De León's itinerary, W. J. O'Donnell, ed., "La Salle's Occupation of Texas," *MID-AMERICA*, XVIII, 1936, 119.

of the French to the Gulf, they were convinced that they had landed at a bay of that name. Yet Matagorda Bay certainly did not correspond to the general description of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo as it appeared on the maps. With regard to shape it corresponded much more closely than Mobile Bay; and its distance from the position indicated on the maps of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo is only one fourth as great as that of Mobile Bay.

Even if, against the evidence, one were to hold that Mobile Bay was the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, it is quite obvious, as we pointed out when discussing Echagaray's letter of 1684, that the Mississippi was not the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers.

The search for La Salle's colony led to the occupation of Pensacola by the Spaniards. This episode is mentioned here, because during the preliminaries to the actual founding of Pensacola the Spanish explorers often refer to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo and to the Mississippi. The diaries of the pilots of the preparatory journeys to Pensacola Bay are lost, but we have the writings of Sigüenza y Góngora, who, at that time, had a better knowledge, both theoretical and practical, of the Gulf Coast than anyone in Europe and in America, with the probable exception of his pupil Barroto. Besides this fundamental evidence, there are other reports and letters which will be examined in the following pages.

The earliest of these writings is the so-called Pez memorial,²⁰ a paper based on the findings of Barroto, wherein its alleged author,²¹ Andrés de Pez, advocates the occupancy of Pensacola Bay by the Spaniards. A good index of how well the geography of the Gulf Coast was "generally known" in Spain is to be found in the opinion of the Marqués de la Granja who, in the name of the Council of the Indies, rejected Pez' proposal to colonize and fortify Pensacola. The *fiscal*, who had reported favorably on the project, had added that "a consideration of the reasons which obliged the Junta to drive the French out of Espíritu Santo bay (when it was said that they had occupied it) moves me to feel that the same thing ought to be done at Pensacola Bay." To this the Marqués de la Granja answered:

Both [projects], apparently, were formed without reflection on or knowledge of the real motives for that effort which grew out of the

²⁰ I. A. Leonard, ed. and transl., *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1939, 77-92.

²¹ Cf. Dunn, *op. cit.*, 147, note 2, and 177; Leonard, *op. cit.*, 24-25, and 95.

understanding that the bay called Espíritu Santo was less than a hundred leagues from Vera Cruz and an equal distance from Mexico city. This belief was also the reason for requiring an examination of that port, for, according to the position assigned it and placed on the sea charts, it lay outside of the gulf of New Spain and around Negrillo reefs. Consequently, consideration was given to the advantages it possessed over Vera Cruz as a port of entry and departure in any season without fear of the "northerners" which, as is well known, cause great concern in both the vicinity of Vera Cruz and Mexico city. But the same arguments do not hold now because of the great distance between the two places; the bay is more than three hundred leagues away on the coast running north and south, and in a position as much out of the way as though it were in the innermost part of the inlet called Carlos bay.²²

One need not be a professional geographer to be startled by the Marqués de la Granja's fantastic geography of the Gulf of Mexico. According to him the Bahía del Espíritu Santo was "around Negrillo reefs," that is, one hundred miles from the northern coast of the Yucatan Peninsula. And this statement was made by a member of the Council of the Indies under whose eyes there was a map of the Gulf of Mexico made by the technicians of the Casa de la Contratación. The bay spoken of at the end of the above quotation, is the Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the west coast of the Florida peninsula, where nobody in Mexico ever thought of going to find La Salle's colony.

The Marqués de los Vélez to whom the viceroy of Mexico, the Conde de Galve, had written in support of the plan for fortifying Pensacola, also gave his opinion on the matter. He repeated what the Marqués de la Granja had said with regard to the former belief that the Bahía del Espíritu Santo was near Vera Cruz and Mexico, and that its position was outside the Gulf of New Spain and around Negrillo reefs. But he improved upon his colleague by saying that Pensacola Bay and not the Bahía del Espíritu Santo is out of the way "and in the innermost part of the inlet called Carlos bay." The whole question of driving La Salle out of the Gulf of Mexico, he wrote, arose from the fact that he was believed to be close to Vera Cruz and Mexico City.

Now we know that the San Bernardo lagoon is more than 180 leagues by sea from the port of Vera Cruz, and that ships cannot anchor in it, judging by what the pilots who have been there again and again have observed, and by what Monsieur La Salle found by experience in wrecking his ships so completely that not even the smallest could get

²² Leonard, *op. cit.*, 103-104.

out. Consequently, this new matter has an entirely different aspect, especially in the proposal to fortify Pensacola bay, which is more than 200 leagues from San Bernardo lagoon and, therefore, 380 from the port of Vera Cruz, and more than 700 by land from Mexico city, judging by the reports of the viceroy and the logs of the pilots who sailed along the gulf of Mexico. So, any conquest attempted by land is impracticable even if the bay were occupied and fortified by the French (which is not the case), for there is a distance of 400 leagues from the outermost missionary posts in the provinces of New Mexico and Coahuila . . . to Pensacola.²³

After the plan to occupy and fortify Pensacola Bay had finally received the king's approval, the viceroy of Mexico wrote to Charles II in answer to the objections raised in Spain against the project.

I am obliged, Sir, to state that at no time could one believe that Espíritu Santo bay was 100 leagues from Vera Cruz and an equal distance from Mexico city, for on the maps, both ancient and modern, it was located on the coast of the gulf of Mexico running east and west, 240 leagues from Vera Cruz, and more than 450 by land from Mexico city; nor does the bay appear on the maps outside the gulf of New Spain and around Negrillo reefs, for the entire coast lying between Cape Apalachee [?] and Cape Cotoche [Catoche] falls within this gulf. Consequently, Espíritu Santo bay, which is the same as the one called Mobile bay by the reconnoitering expeditions recently completed, can not be outside of the Gulf. Mobile bay is well protected from "northers," but its entrance is too shallow for ocean-going vessels.

The Committee has confused this bay with San Bernardo lagoon, . . . and they have taken it for Espíritu Santo bay, which is quite different. The lagoon is at the western end of the gulf coast line running east and west, in the middle of which is Espíritu Santo bay. But the one that we and other nations have not known hitherto is Pensacola Bay, seventeen leagues east of Espíritu Santo, and the only inlet on the Gulf shore into which . . . ocean-going vessels can enter; it is also within the gulf of Mexico and protected from the "northers." And so since this bay is distinct from the Espíritu Santo bay found by the early discoverers, and also different from San Bernardo lagoon, which the Committee mistook for Espíritu Santo, our fears regarding the purposes of the most Christi king remain valid. . . . That [Pensacola Bay] is 240 leagues from Vera Cruz,²⁴ as the map on the

²³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 115-116.

²⁴ It is said in the Pez memorial: "Two hundred and forty leagues northeast by north of Vera Cruz, at thirty degrees and a half north latitude and on the same meridian as Lagartos river on the coast of Yucatan, Captain Juan Enriquez Barroto found this bay of Pensacola," Leonard, *op. cit.*, 79. What the editor means, *ibid.*, 96, note, is not quite clear: "Pensacola bay was nearer twenty degrees north latitude from Vera Cruz." Vera Cruz

secretariat of the Council plainly shows, and not 380 leagues as the Committee asserts, is a fact, for the distance from Vera Cruz to San Bernardo lagoon must not be added to that from the latter to Pensacola because the three ports form a triangle. No one would claim it necessary to go via San Bernardo lagoon insailing to Pensacola or *vice versa*; therefore, the Committee did not make a proper calculation of the distance.²⁵

A few comments and rectifications are in place here. This geographical information came from Sigüenza, and incidentally it shows that in Mexico people knew the geography of the Gulf much better than did the Council of the Indies or the Junta de Guerra. The obvious reason for this more adequate knowledge is the fact that there were then in Mexico trained pilots who, during the previous years, had explored the Gulf Coast from the Florida Keys to Vera Cruz.

We have seen how the pilots of the second maritime expedition came to identify Mobile Bay with the Bahía del Espíritu Santo of the old maps. Until the year of his death, 1696, the viceroy repeated this identification in his letters, but the explorers and seamen who sailed along the northern coast, except when repeating in their reports what the viceroy had written to them, call it simply Mobile Bay.²⁶ The records do not bear out Galve's contention that the Junta de Guerra or the Council of the Indies confused Mobile Bay with San Bernardo. Later, when the authorities in Spain had received the report of Alonso de León and called Matagorda Bay Bahía del Espíritu Santo, they were repeating the identification of the governor of Coahuila. The viceroy's assertion that Espíritu Santo is in the middle of the northern coast of the Gulf goes counter to the position of this bay as it appears on every map drawn since the late twenties of the sixteenth century. We can readily admit that Pensacola Bay is distinct from the Bahía del Espíritu Santo of the early discoverers; as a matter of fact, these two were never alleged to

is 19° N. latitude; Pensacola 30° 30' N. latitude. "Considering the Spanish league about three miles long, the two hundred and forty leagues indicated by Sigüenza y Góngora were around a hundred miles shorter than the actual distance." Sigüenza speaks here of the Spanish sea league which was slightly more than 3.9 miles long; hence Pensacola was 940 statute miles from Vera Cruz in a northeast by north direction, the actual distance is 945 statute miles. Sigüenza's figure, 240 leagues, was obtained by laying the *tronco de leguas* on any seventeenth-century sea chart of the Gulf.

²⁵ Leonard, *op. cit.*, 125-126.

²⁶ On none of the Spanish manuscript maps of the Gulf of Mexico which I have seen, is Mobile Bay called Bahía del Espíritu Santo, but this name is given to Matagorda Bay and alternates with that of Lago de San Bernardo, the name given to this bay in 1687.

be the same; what is not admissible is that Pensacola Bay was not known to the early discoverers, for Sigüenza himself declares that it was known to them as *Achussi*.

In pursuance of the royal decree of June 26, 1692, authorizing the exploration of the northern coast so as to find a suitable place for a settlement, an expedition was organized. The most important document written on this occasion is the description of the northern coast of the Gulf from Pensacola to the mouth of the Mississippi by Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora.²⁷ His instructions ordered him to make plans of the various bays and a map of the coast.²⁸ Of this cartographical work only the plan of Pensacola has survived.²⁹ "As the map of the coast line from Pensacola Bay to Mobile and from there to the mouth of the Mississippi, if Sigüenza y Góngora actually drew one, has not come to light, it is impossible to identify precisely many of the landmarks mentioned."³⁰ While this is regrettable, it has no bearing on the object of our inquiry.

The doubt expressed in the above quotation is quite reasonable. It is not certain that Sigüenza drew a map of the coast line, because it appears from his journal that he used a map made on previous expeditions, probably one of his pupil Barroto, as can be seen from a comparison of the nomenclature in the journal of Jordán de la Reina with that in Sigüenza's journal and in his letter of June 16, 1699.³¹ "The nearest contemporary maps available are those of French origin, and the geographical features of the region bear the names which Frenchmen bestowed upon them."³² These Frenchmen, however, had copies of the Spanish maps made between 1686 and 1693, on which are found quite a

²⁷ Cf. I. A. Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, a Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century*, Berkeley, California, 1929; a brief sketch by the same author will be found in *The Mercurio Volante of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora*, Los Angeles, 1932, 21-27; and in *Spanish Approach to Pensacola*, 38-43.

²⁸ Leonard, *Spanish Approach*, 153.

²⁹ The original is in AGI, Mexico, 61-6-21 (1), photograph in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions; a tracing from a photograph is printed in Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, facing p. 160; actual size reproduction in color, Leonard, *Spanish Approach to Pensacola*. Two other maps by Sigüenza are in the same legajo, one showing the route of Alonso de León to Matagorda Bay in 1689, cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 298; the other illustrating De León's itinerary from Monclova to the Neches River. Photographs of both are in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions; the second is reproduced in H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration of the Southwest*, facing p. 370.

³⁰ Leonard, *Spanish Approach*, 191, note 55.

³¹ Informe de Don Carlos de Sigüenza, June 16, 1699, AGI, Mexico, 61-6-22.

³² Leonard, *Spanish Approach*, 191, note 55.

few place-names which appeared on the lost maps. By means of these French maps as well as of eighteenth-century Spanish maps, most of the fundamental nomenclature of the originals can be reconstructed; this reconstruction, however, interesting though it may be, has no place here; but the following points are pertinent.

First, the Mississippi is called by the name given to it at the time of the first maritime expedition of 1686, and there is not the slightest suggestion that the Spaniards believed this to have been the Rio del Espíritu Santo shown on their old maps. Secondly, except when they repeat the Conde de Galve's instructions neither Pez nor Sigüenza ever call Mobile Bay Bahía del Espíritu Santo, a name to which the viceroy was so much attached. But even if they had, and even if they had drawn the conclusion that the river which empties into the northern part of this bay was the Rio del Espíritu Santo, this would not identify it with the Mississippi. Thirdly, where Sigüenza gives his reasons for beginning a settlement on the banks of the Almirante [Blackwater] River, he says:

It may be inferred from the remarkable width and depth of this river that its source is at considerable height, and that it is an outlet of one of the Great Lakes formed by the St. Lawrence or Canada river. Whatever it is, in coming down from the hinterland one can have full use of the valuable resources in the various provinces through the easy navigation along this river. That was the only reason for Robert La Salle's explorations, journeys, and ultimate ruin. What he in his fancy sought to accomplish by the Colbert river, we ourselves possess with indeed more than legal right.³³

When Sigüenza wrote this report, he had already seen the Mississippi. Since he speaks of the Blackwater River as though it were comparable to the Mississippi itself, we can readily understand how other Spaniards at an earlier date might have been greatly impressed by the size of the Trinity River. The fact that the Trinity River flows into a bay, and that this bay is very similar in shape to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo as represented on old maps, and finally, that the bay is located in the northwest corner of the Gulf, would be so many added reasons for identifying the Rio del Espíritu Santo with the Trinity River, and the Bahía del Espíritu Santo with Galveston Bay.³⁴

³³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 182.

³⁴ In *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique (1684-1687)*, Paris, 1931, 54, De Villiers writes as follows: "La véritable baie de Spiritu Sancto était incontestablement la baie actuelle de Galves-

IX

In spite of all the good reports about the value of Pensacola, and in spite of the royal order of June 13, 1694,¹ instructing the viceroy to begin without further delay the occupation and fortification of the Bahía Santa María de Galve, as the bay had been christened by Sigüenza,² little effort was made to carry out the recommendations contained in the *cédula*. But shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick, September 20, 1697, the news reached Spain that Louis XIV was preparing to found a colony in the Gulf of Mexico and to occupy some port there, presumably Pensacola. This news shook the lethargy of the Spanish government as nothing else could have done.³ Every means of forestalling the French was taken, and as is well known, the Spaniards won the race by two months.

When the royal *cédula* reached Mexico City, July 14, 1698, the viceroy, José Sarmiento de Valladares, Conde de Moctezuma, called in Sigüenza and Andrés de Arriola.⁴ Both wrote memoranda on the situation, and that of Arriola was made official.⁵ This report is of interest because it is the only one of all the official documents of the period in which the Mississippi is identified not with the Rio del Espíritu Santo but with the Rio Grande of the chroniclers of the De Soto expedition. Besides exploring

ton." He bases this positive identification on the position and shape of the bay as it appears on a few early maps which he consulted, but above all on three passages of *La Cosmographie avec l'esperance et le régime du Soleil et du Nord*, by Jean Fonteneau dit Alphonse de Saintonge, G. Musset, ed., Paris, 1904. Two of De Villiers' suppositions are erroneous; firstly, that Alphonse sailed in the Gulf of Mexico up to the northern coast; secondly, that the "anse du Figuyer" is the Gulf. His identifying the "grande rivière qui est toute plaine de bapures" with the Mississippi will not stand examination, for Alphonse's distance, forty leagues from Cape Sable along the west coast of Florida, would place the mouth of this "Mississippi" at the latitude of Charlotte Bay. To try to make sense out of Alphonse's text on pages 509, 513, and 514, is a hopeless task, as can be verified by transposing his data on a modern map. He speaks indifferently of a "baye du Saint Esperit," and of a "goulfe du Saint Esperit"; of an "anse du Figuyer," and of a "cap du Figuyer." We find on one of the Dieppe maps a "p. de figeras," on another a "p. des figeras," and on a third "las higueras"; while the Cabot map has "C. de igueras." All these legends are inscribed in present-day Gulf of Honduras. See the map entitled "L'anse du Figuyer," *Cosmographie*, 504. Alphonse evidently translated the Spanish word into French.

¹ Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, 171.

² Leonard, *Spanish Approach*, 155-156.

³ Dunn, *op. cit.*, 173-176.

⁴ On Arriola, cf. I. A. Leonard, "Don Andrés de Arriola and the Occupation of Pensacola Bay," in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, 2 volumes, privately printed, Los Angeles, 1932, I, 81-102; also Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, 176, note 50.

⁵ Dunn, *op. cit.*, 177-179.

the country around Pensacola, Arriola wrote, a close examination should also be made of the coast

from Pensacola to Mobile Bay and from there to the mouth of the river which we call Rio de la Palizada and the French call Colbert, which is located thirty leagues or thereabouts west of Mobile Bay. For I am certain that this was the river which M. de la Salle came to find, and not finding it, went to the San Bernardino [*sic*] lagoon where he planted his colony. [In 1695] I visited the mouth of this river which appeared to me of very great volume (*muy caudaloso*) and seemed to be that which was called Rio Grande by those who went inland with the *adelantado* Hernando de Soto, navigating it on ships made [on its banks] for more than 400 leagues before they reached the sea. An exploration should also be made of the Rio de disco [*sic*] mentioned in his report by Don Carlos de Sigüenza, which is called [Rio] del Almirante, ascending it as far as possible, since it is navigable; because it may be a branch of the [Rio] de la Palizada; and since it is rather large, I suspect that the French may now come to take possession of its mouth, for they have more information about it than M. de la Salle did. In my opinion, it is no less important to occupy the mouth of this river, if it should turn out to be navigable and could be fortified, because of the length of its course, which can be conjectured from the Relation written by Father Fray Louis Hennepin, who accompanied M. de la Salle in his explorations; for the river has its source in the lakes of New France.⁶

While Arriola was writing his report, Iberville was making ready for his expedition to the Gulf. An account of these preparations, of the voyage itself, of his contact with the Spaniards at Pensacola, and of his finding of the mouth of the Mississippi, March 2, 1699, would be out of place here.⁷ What is pertinent is to determine whether the French in the last years of the seventeenth century knew if the great river had once been called the Rio del Espíritu Santo. We have seen with what river Bernou, Coronelli, and others who had a theoretical knowledge of the geography of North America, identified the Mississippi. These opinions are summarized in the letter which Claude Delisle wrote to Cassini⁸ and which was published in the *Journal des Sçavans*, May 10, 1700. In this letter the geographer says that when he wished to determine the position of the mouth of the Mississippi he had no reliable data, no astronomical observations, and more-

⁶ Ynforme de Dn Andrés de Arriola, July 16, 1698, AGI, Mexico, 61-2-22.

⁷ Cf. G. Frégault, *Iberville le Conquérant*, Montreal, 1944, "L'exploration du Mississippi et la colonisation de la Louisiane," 264-301.

⁸ On the authorship of this letter, cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 279.

over, "the Mississippi River is not marked on any of the maps," with the exception, he continues, of Nolin's map. He then goes on to say that in the 1680's "it was a much debated question among those interested [in geography] to know exactly where the Mississippi River emptied into the sea." The difficulty of determining where its mouth was situated increased after the return of Beaujeu from the Gulf of Mexico, because neither he nor La Salle had found it.

Since on no map of the coast of Florida was there any river to which one dared apply what was being said of the Mississippi, there were some, and the late M. Thevenot was one of them, who maintained that it had no noticeable mouth and that it lost itself either in the interior or in the coastal lagoons; for it is certain that the coast of Florida is very low and that the soil deposits brought down by the river have formed along the coast several islands which will one day be joined to the mainland as has happened in many other places in the world.

Others, especially M. l'abbé Bernou, maintained that this could not be, and that a river corresponding to the description hitherto given must have a large and deep mouth. Others still thought they saved appearances by saying that the Mississippi was the river which the Spaniards called Rio Escondido, and such was the opinion of Father Coronelli, as can be seen on the map which the Sieur Nolin, his engraver, has published.⁹

On this map, the Mississippi River empties into the sea at the western end of the Gulf of Mexico.¹⁰

Here we have an account of the theories about the Mississippi which were current in France during the last twenty years of the seventeenth century, as set forth by the foremost geographer of the day. He does not give the least indication that he himself or any of his contemporaries thought of the Mississippi as the Rio del Espíritu Santo. On three Delisle drafts made in 1696,¹¹ the course of the Mississippi is based on the account of La Salle's expedition as related in Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*. The coast line is taken from one of the many maps in print at the time. On two of these drafts the river is called "Mississipi," but on the third, near its mouth

⁹ This is probably the map published at Paris in 1689; see Lowery, *A Descriptive List of Maps*, 181-182, no. 192. For all that pertains to the course of the Mississippi, it is similar to the other Coronelli maps.

¹⁰ "Lettre de M. Delisle a M. Cassini, sur l'embouchure de la riviere de Mississipi," *Journal des Sçavans*, May 10, 1700, 204. The differences in the wording of the printed version and of the manuscript draft of this passage, ASH, 115-10: no. 17 B, are negligible.

¹¹ Cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 279.

he inscribed the following legend: "Mississippi ou Grande riviere nomme par les Espagnols Rio Escondido."¹² As is to be expected, on the three maps there is a Rio del Espíritu Santo which empties into Apalachee Bay; and east of the mouth of the Mississippi we have the usual Baye du Saint-Esprit. A simplified version of these drafts of 1696 appeared on the gores of his 1700 globe. On his map of America published late in 1700, there is a "B. du St. Esprit" designating Breton Sound. Considering that on the later Delisle maps this name is never used, we must inquire why he inscribed it on the 1700 map in this part of the Gulf.

When Iberville was preparing his expedition he consulted old maps similar to those which Palacios had consulted ten years earlier. This is clear both from an anonymous memoir of 1698¹³ and from the plan which he submitted to Pontchartrain under date of June 18, 1698:

On leaving Santo Domingo, I shall sail [northward] to reconnoiter the coast, [landing] fifty or sixty leagues to the west of the Florida peninsula. I shall then follow the coast observing it well, especially the rivers, to the baye du Saint-Esprit where all my ships will gather. I shall enter this bay and shall carefully examine it to see whether the Mississippi empties into it.¹⁴

This Baye du Saint-Esprit, he thought, was only about one hundred leagues from the "Baye St. Louis," to wit, Matagorda Bay. If the Baye du Saint-Esprit was a good port, he would build a fort there; if, however, Matagorda Bay were a better port, he intended to fortify it instead of the Baye du Saint-Esprit.

There is no question of the Mississippi being the Rio del Espíritu Santo, even though Iberville thought the river might perhaps empty into the Bahía del Espíritu Santo. For, as we have seen, both Beaujeu and Minet also considered this possibility, but the latter's map makes it quite clear that he refers not to the Rio del Espíritu Santo, but to the Chucagua; and Iberville himself, after returning from his first voyage, positively identified the Chucagua with the Mississippi.¹⁵

But as Iberville's preparations progressed, more recent maps

¹² The Spaniards did not call the Mississippi Rio Escondido. As we have seen, La Salle is the first one who made this identification, which Coronelli made known to the world in his *Atlante Veneto*.

¹³ BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21398:209-209v.

¹⁴ Margry, IV, 53.

¹⁵ "Le Chicagoua est le Mississippi," in copy by Claude Delisle of the "Reponse de Mr. d'Iberville a une lettre de Mr. Toinard sur la cote de Floride et de la riviere de Mississippi," September 11, 1699, ASH, 115-10:no. 6.

of the Gulf embodying the results of its survey by the Spanish pilots of the various expeditions sent to find La Salle's colony reached the French. We called attention above to the manner in which manuscripts fell into the hands of nationals of other countries, and added that some maps were obtained in the same way.¹⁶ Among the booty found on a Spanish ship captured by the French in 1697 there was a new map of the Gulf. The captain of the French ship brought the map to Toulon. Nicolas de la Salle, the namesake of the explorer, who had descended the Mississippi with La Salle in 1682, was living at Toulon at that time. When he learned that preparations were being made to send ships to the Gulf, he wrote to Pontchartrain, August 14, 1698, informing the minister that he had some knowledge of the mouth of the Mississippi, and that he had this map of the Gulf. In his answer, the minister asked for details of this knowledge and told La Salle to send with his report "the map which had been found on the ship of the vice-admiral of the Armadille, taken by the *Bon* in 1697."¹⁷ Nicolas de la Salle hastened to comply with this request, and on September 3 sent his report together "with a copy of the map of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. M. Patoulet, captain [of the *Bon*] has the original parchment."¹⁸ We know that this map was a recent one, quite different with regard to nomenclature from those previously possessed by the French, because a "rivière de la Palissade"¹⁹ was indicated on it, a name which was first given to the Mississippi by Jordán de la Reina in 1686, the year of the first maritime expedition sent to find La Salle's colony.

The *Badine*, commanded by Iberville, and the *Marin*, commanded by Surgères, arrived at Cap Français [Cap Haitien, Haiti], December 4, 1698. Two weeks later Iberville wrote from this place: "I shall follow my first intention which is to search for it [the Mississippi] in the vicinity of the *baye de Lago de Lodo*."²⁰ This name is a mistaken reading on the part of Iberville, for it does not appear on any Spanish maps of the period. Instead, the legend *Cabo de Lodo* appears on the Spanish maps after 1686 at the tip of one of the "fingers" of the delta,²¹ and the expanse of water between the delta and the mainland to the

¹⁶ *Supra*, XXV, 1943, 219, note 43.

¹⁷ Nicolas de la Salle to Pontchartrain, August 27, 1698, Margry, IV, 82.

¹⁸ *Id.* to [*id.*], September 3, 1698, ASH, 111-1: no. 18.

¹⁹ De Boissieux to ———, January 7, 1698, Margry, IV, 44.

²⁰ Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 19, 1698, *ibid.*, 89.

²¹ Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, 62.

north was called *Laguna de Pez*.²² That the map which Iberville used actually had the legend Cabo de Lodo instead of Lago de Lodo, is evident from a letter which Chasteaumorant wrote to the minister after his return to France.²³

On this map there was also a Rio de la Palizada, but not until the following February did Iberville begin to suspect that this Rio was the Mississippi. In a letter which he wrote to Pontchartrain from Léogane on December 31, 1698, he says: "I heard nothing about the Mississippi here, nobody has any definite idea as to where it is, nor has anyone sailed along that coast; I shall, therefore, follow my original plan and sail to the coast of Florida."²⁴ In a second letter to Pontchartrain, which is in the form of a journal, under date of February 4, he says that he has decided to "follow the coast to the rivière des Palissades which is twenty-five or thirty leagues from Mobile [Bay]"; and a week later, after anchoring off Ship Island, he wrote that he was first going to explore the "bay," that is, the expanse of water formed by the Mississippi Sound and Lake Borgne where he then was, and afterward "sail along the coast to the rivière de la Palissade which is the Mississippi, between fifteen and twenty leagues from here."²⁵

Iberville had arrived at the latter conclusion by piecing together the information which he had received from various sources. Besides the map received from Pontchartrain, he had obtained another one at Santo Domingo,²⁶ and in addition it is likely that he saw the map given to the brother of one of Chasteaumorant's officers there.²⁷ Moreover, a Spanish pilot, Juan Vicente, boarded the *Badine* at Petit Goave.²⁸ Iberville also knew of the information which Chasteaumorant had received

²² Cf. Dunn, *op. cit.*, 162, and the map in AGI, Mexico, 61-6-17, photograph in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions; tracing from a photograph of the original in Dunn, 163. Sigüenza wrote: "desde el Cabo de lodo a la mouilla que distan entre si por Mar y camino derecho Como treinta y Cinco leguas se forma Vna grandissima ensenada en que se hallan esparsidos infinitos Caios que son isletas de barro Arena y Mucara de varios Tamaños entre los quales ai dos trechos grandes de mar limpio que son la ensenada de Barroto . . . [y] la laguna de Pez que es el otro pedazo de mar limpio," Informe de Don Carlos de Sigüenza, June 16, 1699, AGI, Mexico, 61-6-22.

²³ Chasteaumorant to Pontchartrain, June 23, 1699, Margry, IV, 104.

²⁴ Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 31, 1698, *ibid.*, 91.

²⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, February 11, 1699, *ibid.*, 99. The log of the *Badine* under date of February 27 has the following: "I left the ships . . . for the Mississippi, which the Indians of these parts call Malbanchya, and the Spaniards [rivière] de la Palissade," *ibid.*, 157.

²⁶ Cf. the log of the *Badine*, *ibid.*, 149, and ASH, 115-10: no. 17 Z.

²⁷ Chasteaumorant to Pontchartrain, June 23, 1699, Margry, IV, 110.

²⁸ Ducasse to *id.*, January 13, 1699, *ibid.*, 92; Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, 187.

from the notorious Flemish corsair Laurent De Graff,²⁹ from Martínez at Pensacola, and especially from the "piloto real" loaned by Arriola.³⁰

The details received from this last source were of considerable importance. Martínez, who came on board the *François* with this pilot, was asked many questions, "especially about the Palizada, San Bernardo, the Rio Bravo, and Pánuco"; he gave his host "little information, beyond stating that all those places were very shallow and uninviting."³¹ But before dismissing the "piloto real," Chasteaumont asked him if he had any knowledge of the Mississippi.

He told me that he had not, but that he had heard of a river which was called the river of Canada, and which was located beyond the San Diego Islands,³² but there was practically no water at its mouth. The freshets had brought down a very great quantity of trees which had formed a kind of bar, so that there was not, he thought, more than one fathom of water at its entrance. Moreover, the current was exceedingly strong.³³

The pilot was, of course, describing the mouth of the Mississippi, as the French found out a month later. On March 2, 1699, Iberville wrote in the log of the *Badine* that "its appearance made me realize that it was the rivière de la Palissade which appeared to me well christened, for its mouth . . . seems to be blocked by these rocks,"³⁴ namely, by the driftwood incrustated with mud. How he later came to the conclusion that this was the

²⁹ Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 19, 1698, Margry, IV, 88; Ducasse to *id.*, *ibid.*, 92; logs of the *Badine* and of the *Marin*, *ibid.*, 135, 216, 217; Mouffle to Pontchartrain, June 23, 1699, AC, C 13A, 1:147; Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, 187.

³⁰ Chasteaumont to Pontchartrain, June 23, 1699, Margry, IV, 109.

³¹ Dunn, *op. cit.*, 187. Cf. Chasteaumont to Pontchartrain, June 23, 1699, Margry, IV, 108-109; Mouffle to *id.*, June 23, 1699, AC, C 13A, 1:150.

³² From the journal of Sigüenza y Góngora it appears that these islands, "Cayos de San Diego," as well as others, had been named at the time of the previous maritime expeditions, and that they were entered on the map—probably made by Barroto—which Sigüenza had with him. The "Cayos de San Diego" were the string of islands and islets from present-day Petit Bois Island to Isle au Pied; cf. Mouffle to [Pontchartrain], June 23, 1699, AC, C 13A, 1:151. The map referred to in this letter is entitled "Plan de la coste de la Floride depuis le Cap S^t Blanc jusques aux Isles S^t Diegue," and is among the papers of Pierre Arnoul in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21399:377. Two variants of this map which were made by Ste. Marie, a garde-marine who took part in the 1698-1699 expedition to the Gulf, Perinet to Pontchartrain, May 4, 1700, ASH, 111-1: no. 20, are in ASH, 138-6-2 and 3.

³³ Chasteaumont to Pontchartrain, June 23, 1699, Margry, IV, 110.

³⁴ Log of the *Badine*, *ibid.*, 159. "The Spaniards were correct in calling it *la rivière de la palissade*; the mouth is entirely fenced in with trunks of trees, petrified and hard as rock," R. L. Butler, ed. and transl., *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, Chicago, 1934, 4.

river which La Salle had descended, is outside the scope of this essay. The point here is that if the Mississippi had been "generally known" at that time as the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers, the Spaniards from 1686 on, and the French after 1698, would certainly have referred to the Mississippi under this name. As can be seen from what has been said in this and in the previous sections, there is not one single text which identifies the Mississippi with the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

There is mention made by Iberville of a rivière du Saint-Esprit which appeared on a freak map sent to Pontchartrain in August 1699.³⁵ This map had been forwarded to La Rochelle by the minister so that Iberville might examine it. The latter, after studying it, concluded that this rivière du Saint-Esprit was probably the Apalachicola River, certainly not the Mississippi, for its mouth was between eighty and one hundred leagues east of the mouth of the Mississippi.³⁶

The last appearance of a rivière du Saint-Esprit in the eastern part of the Gulf of Mexico is on the Delisle map of 1703, where present-day Apalachicola River is legended "Apalachicoli ou Hitanichi et R. du St. Esprit."³⁷ On the next Delisle map of the United States, which was published in 1718 by Guillaume Delisle, Claude's son, the same river is called: "Riviere des Chattaux nommee cy devant Riv. des Apalachicolis."

Similarly, the Baye du Saint-Esprit, the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, which appeared so constantly on the northern coast since the late twenties of the sixteenth century, does not appear on

³⁵ Pontchartrain to Iberville, August 19, 1699, *ibid.*, 334.

³⁶ Iberville to Pontchartrain, August 30, 1699, *ibid.*, 341-342. A copy of a similar map was apparently sent by Thoinard to Iberville. In his answer, the latter repeated what he had written to the minister, ASH, 115-10: no. 6. One of the reasons why any attention was paid to this map was because, joined to it, there was a letter saying that the English had established themselves at the mouth of this rivière du Saint-Esprit. When he arrived at Santo Domingo, in December 1699, after being told that the English had begun a colony in the "baye de Spiritu Santo" (Ducasse to Pontchartrain, October 29, 1699, Margry, IV, 357); Iberville concluded that it was "the baye de Carlos . . . between the Cape of Florida and the Apalaches." This baye de Carlos, he said, was situated thirty leagues south-southeast of the Apache Spanish settlement, that is, south of present-day Suwannee River. "It is this river [emptying into the baye de Carlos] which the English call [rivière] du Saint Esprit," Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 19, 1699, *ibid.*, 359. The governor of Carolina asserted that Pensacola was the bay which was called Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the maps; and the Spaniards of Pensacola feared the designs of the English on "Espíritu Santo Bay, also called Ascension Bay, and Tampa by the natives," Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, 197-198.

³⁷ The reason why Claude Delisle inscribed these three names on his map of 1703 was because he was not sure which was the correct one, cf. "Questions sur la Route de Soto," in ASH, 115-10: no. 17 X.

maps made after 1700.³⁸ The reason why it was still inscribed on this map is because of a passage in a letter written by Iberville after his return from his first voyage to the Gulf. In this letter, which is based on the log of the *Badine*, he says that, leaving the ships safely at anchor off Ship Island, he "resolved to explore in launches the environs of Lago de Lodo. This is the name which the Spaniards give to what on the maps is called the baye du Saint-Esprit."³⁹

As we have pointed out, Iberville simply misread the legend. What he calls Lago de Lodo is nothing else than the Mississippi Sound prolonged into Lake Borgne,⁴⁰ and from where he was it must have appeared as a bay. We should also note that he identified this Lago de Lodo with the Baye du Saint-Esprit in a letter—the only place in all his extant writings—written after his return to France, when he had old and new maps of the Gulf before him. On the old Spanish maps of the Gulf there was a Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the northern coast, but, as we have seen, it was situated 400 miles west of the Mississippi Sound; and on the new Spanish maps of the Gulf, the only bay that was so named was Matagorda Bay. The Spaniards could not have called Lago de Lodo Baye du Saint-Esprit, for the simple reason that the first legend does not appear on their maps.

Copies of the above-mentioned letter containing this erroneous identification were made in France by people who were interested in the geography of the Gulf.⁴¹ Guillaume Delisle extracted therefrom the pertinent geographical data,⁴² and his father, as we saw, inscribed "B. du St. Esprit" to represent Breton Sound on his map of 1700. But his father had misgivings

³⁸ The Bahía del Espíritu Santo of the northern Gulf Coast appears on maps made after 1700, when the draughtsman or the engraver used a model dating back to the days of the conquista; or when they faithfully copied that of Delisle, as in the case of the map of America issued at Amsterdam in 1708; most of those who copied the Delisle map of 1700, however, omitted all mention of a Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the northern coast.

³⁹ Iberville to Pontchartrain, June 29, 1699, Margry, IV, 118.

⁴⁰ The following passages make the identification certain, Iberville to Pontchartrain, June 29, 1699, Margry, IV, 123, and Claude Delisle's notes entitled "Route de la Riv. d'Iberville [Manchac] au fort des Bilocchi [Ocean Springs, Mississippi] et du fort à cette Riv.," in ASH, 115-10: no. 17 Z.

⁴¹ There is a copy among the papers of Father Léonard de Ste. Catherine de Sienne, BN, Mss. fr., 9097:45-48; and another in the Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier 165, Canada II. The same letter, with slight variants, was sent the following day, June 30, to an anonymous addressee; it is found today among the Bernou papers, BN, Clairambault, 1016:514-517v. The passage discussed in the text is the same in all these letters.

⁴² "Extrait d'une lettre de la Rochelle du 2 [i. e., 29] juin 1699, de M^r d'Iberville touchant la R. de Mississippi," ASH, 115-10: no. 6.

with regard to this legend. In order to clarify obscure points, Claude Delisle drew up a list of questions "to be put to M. d'Iberville." Among these questions are the following: "What is Lago de Lodo? Is it Lake Pontchartrain?⁴³ Does it include St. Louis and Biloxi bays? Is its entrance very far from the sea? Is it what the other maps call baye du St. Esprit?"⁴⁴ Peculiarly enough, Iberville did not answer these questions nor those which pertained to his first voyage. Yet Claude Delisle himself could have found answers to some of them by merely consulting Iberville's logs which he or Guillaume had copied. However that may be, Delisle had made up his mind about this "B. du St. Esprit" on the northern coast before he met Iberville in person, August 2, 1703,⁴⁵ for on his map which had been on the market four months previous to that date, and indeed on all the drafts of this map from 1701 on, there is no trace of a Baye du Saint-Esprit on the northern coast of the Gulf. The only bay of that name is on the west coast of the Florida peninsula corresponding to Tampa Bay which had been christened Bahía del Espíritu Santo when De Soto landed there in 1539.

X

The aim of all historical studies is—or should be—to reach certitude. In the present case, we are certain that the Mississippi was not the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers. The next step should be to determine the identity of this famous river, which begins to appear on maps made in the twenties of the sixteenth century. With the documentation now available this second step is impossible.

We know that it must be a river which empties into one of three bays on the northern coast: Mobile Bay, Lake Sabine, or Galveston Bay. The first one, for reasons given in a preceding section, is the most unlikely of the three; Lake Sabine is closer than is Mobile Bay to the position of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo on the northern coast line, but its shape does not correspond to that of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo as shown on the

⁴³ On an anonymous map, ASH, 138bis-1-5, showing the Gulf Coast from Cape San Blas to Matagorda Bay and the course of the Mississippi to the Illinois River, there are several interpolations by a different hand from that of the author of the map. For instance, the legend "Lac de pontchartrain" of the original is crossed out and is replaced by "baye du S. Esprit." Whoever made this change clearly wished "to harmonize" the nomenclature with that on old maps of the Gulf; and one of his insertions giving the farthest point reached by Iberville in 1700 shows that he was only superficially acquainted with the second voyage to the Mississippi.

⁴⁴ "Questions à fe. à M. d'Iberville," ASH, 115-10: no. 17 Q.

⁴⁵ ASH, 115-10: no. 17 Y.

early maps. There remains Galveston Bay. Its shape, as well as its position in the northwest corner of the Gulf, approximates more closely to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo than the others. If Galveston Bay is in fact the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, the Rio del Espíritu Santo would be the Trinity River.

To say, as De Villiers does, that the "true Bahía del Espíritu Santo was unquestionably Galveston Bay," we should know whether a Bahía del Espíritu Santo of the same shape and position was represented on the Seville padrón, and supposing that it had been so represented, we should further know whether it was exactly reproduced by the makers of the maps which have come down to us. Precisely because these two points are doubtful, we cannot have more than probability for the identification of Galveston Bay with the Bahía del Espíritu Santo of these maps.

Since certainty regarding the identity of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is impossible from the evidence now available, the conclusion here indicated as a probability is not without value, but this probability does not become certainty as a result of one's subjective conviction. Probability, or even doubt, though a less pleasing result of the study of the evidence is not a less worthy one. When ignorance is inevitable there is no disgrace in admitting it. There is such a thing as learned ignorance, the true *docta ignorantia*, which is the result of a study of the possible sources of knowledge, even when they do not yield the knowledge expected from them.

In the present case we have inquired into these sources in order to ascertain the modern equivalent of a river inscribed on hundreds of maps and named Rio del Espíritu Santo; and we have come to one certain conclusion; namely, the Rio del Espíritu Santo of the Spanish geographers is *not* the Mississippi. To some this negative result may seem disappointing; it is, however, the only conclusion justified by the evidence.

A more satisfactory result of the examination of the documentation, although only a by-product, is a better knowledge of the historical cartography of the Gulf Coast and of that part of Spanish Florida lying west of the eighty-fourth meridian.

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DOCUMENT

The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679

The document herewith printed *in extenso*, for the first time, forms the basis of one chapter of a book entitled "Three Voyages of Jolliet," the publication of which has been delayed owing to present-day conditions.¹

By way of introduction we shall recount the voyages of discovery and exploration of Hudson Bay by the English and the French. The present treatment is not meant to be exhaustive, but only to bring out those points which serve to explain the antecedents of the struggle between France and England for the possession of the Mediterranean of North America. This struggle was preceded by a diplomatic debate, wherein each side tried to prove priority of discovery; but there was too much at stake to expect a solution from an exchange of notes by envoys, ambassadors, or plenipotentiaries. We are not concerned with the war which inevitably followed nor even with the period after 1679. We have made use of documents written after this date only insofar as they refer to events which took place previously.

This voyage of Jolliet, in contradistinction to that of 1673, was not one of discovery. As far as one can judge from his map and from his report, he seems to have gone over much of the same route taken seven years earlier by Paul Denis, Sieur de Saint-Simon, another Frenchman, and Father Albanel.² This latter was the fourth attempt made by the French to reach Hudson Bay. After his return to Quebec, Father Albanel wrote toward the end of his journal:

Hitherto this journey had been deemed impossible for the French, who had already thrice attempted it, but, unable to overcome the obstacles on the way, had been forced to abandon it in despair of success. . . . It is true this journey is extremely difficult, and all that I write about

¹ "El Rio del Espiritu Santo," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 189.

² On this Jesuit, cf. C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1895-1896, II, 373, note 1; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 34:246-247; *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, (BRH), XXV, 1919, 111, XXXIII, 1927, 183, etc.

it is but half of what the traveler must endure. There are 200 saults or water falls, which means 200 portages. . . . There are 400 rapids. . . . I say nothing of the difficulties of the road, they must be experienced to be understood.³

The French in Canada had long speculated about this overland route to Hudson Bay. In June 1640, an Englishman—thought to be Sir Thomas Yonge or Young⁴—who had been brought to Quebec by Indians, related to Father Le Jeune “wonderful things about New Mexico.” For two years he had sought along the Atlantic Coast, from Virginia to the Kennebec River, for some great lake or river that would lead him to the sea which is north of Mexico. “Not having found any, I came to this country to enter the Saguenay, and penetrate if I could, with the Indians of this country, to the North Sea.” The comments of Father Le Jeune on the exploration contemplated by this Englishman are in sharp contrast with the subsequent attitude of his Jesuit brethren in Canada, and indicate that the overland journey to Hudson Bay, or, as it was then called, the Sea of the North, was looked upon as an almost superhuman feat:

This poor man would have lost fifty lives, if he had had so many, before reaching this Sea of the North by the way he described; and if he had found this sea, he would have discovered nothing new, nor found any passage to New Mexico. One need not be a great geographer to recognize this fact.⁵

Seven years after the discovery of Lake St. John by Father De Quen in 1647,⁶ the Jesuits, having heard of Indian villages on the “shores of the Sea in the North,”⁷ began to think of means of reaching these tribes; and in 1658 several possible overland routes to this North Sea were mentioned in the Relation. One of these routes was described as leading up the Saguenay to Lake Piouakouami [St. John]; sixty leagues farther was Lake Outa-

³ JR, 56:212.

⁴ Cf. G. L. Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, New York, 1943, 284.

⁵ JR, 18:234-236.

⁶ JR, 31:251-253. Father Laure wrote in his Relation of the Saguenay, 1720 to 1730: “This river [Saguenay] which takes his rise in Lake Piék8agami, which Father de Crépieu, whose apostolic sweat watered the surrounding forests, called Lake St. John . . .,” JR, 68:28. It is an anachronism on the strength of this text to say that Father de Crépieu christened Lake St. John. The name appears for the first time in the Relation of 1651-1652, twenty years before the arrival of this missionary in Canada. “On the lake which the Indians call Piagouagami, and which we have named the Lake of Saint John . . .,” JR, 37:210. In 1652, Father de Crépieu was fourteen years old and a student in the Jesuit college of Arras.

⁷ JR, 41:182.

kouami,⁸ and another sixty leagues' travel from this lake would bring one to the sea.⁹ These distances were inferences from vague data supplied by the Indians and no account was taken of the numerous rapids or portages on the way. In 1660 an Indian who had made the journey told a Jesuit, who may have been Father Druillettes, of an overland route from Hudson Bay to Tadoussac by means of "two rivers [which] flow into Lake St. John, whence the Saguenay takes its rise."¹⁰

From the wording of Father Albanel's journal quoted above, it would seem that before his voyage to Hudson Bay there had been three attempts by the French to make the journey overland. The records, however, mention three attempts in all, one by sea and only two overland. The earliest, by sea, was made by Jean Bourdon, who, according to the Relation of 1657-1658, returned to Quebec after reaching latitude 55°;¹¹ namely, the latitude of Cape Harrison on the Labrador Coast. The second voyage took place in 1661, when four Canadians under the command of Michel Le Neuf, Sieur de la Vallière, together with the Jesuit Fathers Druillettes and Dablon, went as far as Necouba (Lake Nikabau), near the summit of the St. Lawrence watershed.¹² Two years later, in May 1663, Guillaume Couture, who had taken part in the 1661 expedition, was given a permit by Governor d'Avaugour to take five other Frenchmen and travel with "the Indians dwelling in the north as far and as long as he will deem proper for the service of the king and the good of the commonwealth."¹³

None of these expeditions reached Hudson Bay; although in later years, when the French became aware of the importance of the territory adjacent to the bay as an inexhaustible supply of valuable pelts, they claimed on the strength of these three voyages that according to international law they had a right to the territory in virtue of prior discovery and of having taken possession of the bay through these three voyages.

The events that led to the diplomatic exchange of notes, memorials, and reports containing the claims and counterclaims

⁸ According to the annotator of this passage in JR, 44:323, this was Lake Ouichtagami, the headwaters of the Peribonka River. N. M. Crouse, *Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France 1632-1675*, Ithaca, New York, 1924, 148-149, identifies this lake with Lake Mistassini.

⁹ JR, 44:238-240.

¹⁰ JR, 45:232.

¹¹ JR, 44:188.

¹² JR, 46:272.

¹³ "Ordre de M. d'Avaugour au Sr. Couture pour aller au Nord," BRH, VII, 1901, 41.

of the two countries involved must be mentioned briefly, for in this exchange specific reference is made to the three voyages before that of Saint-Simon-Albanel as entitling the French to the Hudson Bay territory.

The Frenchman Médard Chouart *dit* des Groseilliers,¹⁴ after difficulties with the authorities in Canada, went to England and thence led the English to Hudson Bay in 1668. Seeing the great number of pelts brought back from this expedition, prominent men in England determined to form a trading company, and on May 2, 1670 (O. S.), they received a charter from Charles II incorporating them under the title of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay."¹⁵ For four years, Chouart and his brother-in-law, Pierre Esprit Radisson, who had entered the service of the English at the same time, worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1674, however, as a result of Radisson's quarrel with Charles Bayly, the governor of the bay for the Company, the two renegades went to France where their desertion was pardoned. In 1682 Radisson made the voyage from Quebec to the bay in the service of Canadian merchants, who had founded a trading company in that year under the title of "Compagnie de la Baie du Nord."¹⁶ Besides seizing an enormous amount of pelts from his former employers, Radisson also brought to Quebec on his return from this voyage a ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. The capture of this ship was disapproved by La Barre, the governor of New France, who returned it to its captain, Benjamin Gillam. Radisson went to Paris to enter a complaint against La Barre, and obtaining no satisfaction, crossed over to England, where he again entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Sailing for Hudson Bay in May 1684, he handed over to the English at Port Nelson all the pelts which his former companions had collected there for the Canadian merchants, and persuaded these companions to take service with the Hudson's Bay Company. Then, after presenting to the Company the fort which had been built at the mouth of the Nelson River, he left for England at the beginning of September.

It was only in 1685 that the Compagnie de la Baie du Nord in Quebec learned of the new treason perpetrated by their former

¹⁴ G. Frégault, "L'enfance et la jeunesse de Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIII, 1941, 217, note 31.

¹⁵ The charter is printed in E. E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671-1674*, Toronto, 1942, 131-135.

¹⁶ This trading company is also known as Compagnie de la Baie du Nord, Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, and Compagnie du Nord de Canada.

employee. Incensed at the losses sustained by Radisson's defection, the stockholders obtained leave from Denonville to send an expedition to dislodge the English.¹⁷ This expedition effected the forcible expulsion of the English from all the posts on the shores of James Bay, and when the news reached England, it was the turn of the stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company to complain. Whereupon a committee composed of French and English plenipotentiaries met to discuss the prior rights of their respective sovereigns to Hudson Bay. The "Transactions betweene England and France Relateing to Hudson Bay, 1687,"¹⁸ contain the claims and counterclaims submitted by the English and by the French; and the main feature of these "transactions" is their remarkably economical use of truth whenever it suited the purpose of the contestants.

What interests us here is the reference made to the above-mentioned three attempts by the French to reach Hudson Bay. Among the documents presented by the *Compagnie de la Baie du Nord de Canada* are the following:

An act from the Registers of the Sovereign Council of Quebec, dated April 26, 1656, signed Peuvret, secretary of the said Council, wherein it is proved that the man called Jean Bourdon, commanding a ship of the said company [the One Hundred Associates], followed the whole length of the northern coast of Canada, entered the said [Hudson] bay and took anew possession of it.¹⁹

The certificates of the *Sieur de la Vallière*, officer, and of Father Dablon, missionary, proving that in 1661, Indians [living on the shores] of the *Baye du Nord de Canada* [Hudson Bay], came to Quebec for the express purpose of confirming their desire of continuing to live under French rule, and of asking for a missionary. The said Father Dablon was sent overland with the said *Sieur de la Vallière* and five soldiers.

A commission of the *Sieur d'Avaugour*, then governor of New France, dated May 10, 1663, ordering and permitting the *Sieur Couture* to go with five men to the foot of the *Baye du Nord de Canada*, to accompany and help the Indians who had once more come to Quebec to ask the governor for assistance. To this commission is attached a certificate of the said *Couture*, saying that he made the journey in

¹⁷ I. Caron, *Journal de l'expédition du Chevalier de Troyes a la Baie d'Hudson, en 1686*, Beauceville, 1918.

¹⁸ Printed in D. Brymner, ed., *Report on Canadian Archives 1883*, Ottawa, 1884, note C, 173-201.

¹⁹ The earlier "prises de possession" consist in an edict of Francis I of 1540 authorizing Roberval to take possession of the country discovered by Verrazano in 1525; the letters patent of Henry IV of 1598 to the Marquis de la Roche; the acts of the *Compagnie de Caen*; and the letters patent of Louis XIII of 1627 to the Company of the Hundred Associates.

the year 1663, and that in the country around the foot of the said bay, he again erected a cross, and buried the arms of His Majesty, engraved on copper, between two lead sheets at the foot of a large tree.²⁰

We must inquire into the validity of these proofs, for the possession of Hudson Bay was to be the cause of much bloodshed, which is unjustified if the English had actually taken formal possession of the bay before the French succeeded in reaching its shores.²¹

Nearly fifty years ago, J.-E. Roy proved that Bourdon made no voyage to Hudson Bay in 1656, and he came to the conclusion that the above-mentioned act of April 26 was a forgery.²² The voyage, we know, actually took place in 1657; and when we consider the date of Bourdon's departure from Quebec, May 2, and that of his return, August 11,²³ it is obvious that he cannot have gone to Hudson Bay. We have, besides, the positive statement in the Relation of 1657-1658 that he did not go farther than latitude 55°, and the sworn statement of Laurent Dubocq who was wounded in a skirmish with the Eskimo. This latter statement, as we shall see, agrees in every particular with the account in the Relation just referred to and with a letter of Mother Marie de l'Incarnation. In all these accounts there is no indication whatever that Bourdon went to Hudson Bay in order to take possession of it, or that he actually did take possession of the Labrador Coast at latitude 55°.

As for the "certificates" of La Vallière and Dablon, we know from the Relation of 1659-1661 that Dablon did not go farther than Lake Nikabau; that is, he was still 300 miles southeast of Hudson Bay, in a straight line. The only evidence we have of this certificate is an extant copy purportedly signed by Dablon and

²⁰ *Report on Canadian Archives* 1883, 182.

²¹ Just after this article was written I received a copy of *Iberville le Conquérant*, by G. Frégault, Montreal, 1944. The book was originally a doctoral thesis written under my direction. When revising it for publication, Dr. Frégault inserted a discussion of the prior rights to Hudson Bay, based on what J.-E. Roy wrote in his *Histoire de la seigneurie de Lauzon*, 5 volumes, Lévis, 1897-1904, I, 215-222. In spite of repeated efforts, I have been unable to secure this latter book. It is clear from Dr. Frégault's summary, however, that Roy's arguments are inadequate to prove the prior rights of France, especially in view of the contrary evidence set forth in this present article.

²² "Jean Bourdon et la baie d'Hudson," BRH, II, 1896, 2-9, 21-23. The document is not in the first volume of the *Mémoires et Documents, Amérique*, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, as stated by Marcel, but in Volume IV, folio 474; folio 475 is a second copy of the so-called declaration of Jean Bourdon.

²³ C. H. Laverdière and H. R. Casgrain, eds., *Journal des Jésuites*, 1892, 209, 218.

La Vallière and dated Montreal May 3, 1662.²⁴ We do not know what was said in the original, if there ever was one, for this copy, like the copies of Jean Bourdon's declaration, is a forgery which neither Dablon nor La Vallière ever saw. Its spurious character is manifest from internal evidence. First, Dablon's name is not Louis but Claude, and La Vallière's is not Denis but Michel. Secondly, it is not true that the Indians from the shores of Hudson Bay came to Quebec in the month of May to ask the governor for a missionary to instruct them and for an officer to accompany them to their country. This can be seen by comparing these statements in the certificate with the opening paragraphs of the third chapter of the 1660-1661 Relation.²⁵ Thirdly, there is nothing in this same chapter about "planting crosses and arboring the arms of His Majesty," as stated in the certificate. Finally, Couture who was one of the five Frenchmen who took part in this expedition says nothing in his deposition about such a ceremony.

The permit given by d'Avaugour to Couture is authentic enough,²⁶ but the certificate said to be attached to it seems to be as worthless as the Bourdon declaration and the Dablon-La Vallière certificate. Some ten years ago, when I used Volume Five of the *Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, Archives des Affaires Étrangères*, wherein a copy of this Couture certificate is found, the document escaped my attention, but from the entry in Dr. Leland's *Guide*,²⁷ the same remarks must be made of it as of the

²⁴ "Nous Louis Dablon pretre Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus, Missionnaire employé a l'instruction des nations sauvages de la Nouvelle France, et Denis de La Valiere, Lieutenant d'une Compagnie d'infanterie entretenue pour le service de sa Ma^{te} audit pais Certifions a tous quil appartiendra que les sauvages du costé de la Baye du Nord de Canada estant venus à Quebec au mois de juin de l'année 1661 pour demander à Monsieur le Vicomte d'Argenson gouverneur de la Nouvelle France, un missionnaire pour les instruire et un officier pour les conduire, Nous y serions allez par ordre de Mond. S^r d'Argenson, accompagnez des nommez Denis Guyon, Desprez, Couture, et françois Pelletier, faisant led. voyage par terre, et estant arrivez chés lesd. Sauvages, Ils nous auroient receu fort humainement et consentj que Nous prissions possession de leur pais au nom de sa Ma^{te}, Ce que Nous auons fait en y arborant des Croix et les armes de Sa Ma^{te}. En foy de quoy Nous auons signé le present Certificat. Fait a Montreal le troisieme May 1662 signé Louis Dablon de la Compagnie de Jesus. Denis de la Valiere." Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 5:28-28v. In the upper left-hand corner is the following note in the handwriting of a clerk: "Copie du certificat du Pere Dablon Missionnaire et du S^r de la Valiere officier."

²⁵ JR., 46:248-250.

²⁶ "Collationné à l'original trouvé en liasse du greffe du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France par moy Con^{re} secretaire de Sa Majesté et greffier en chef du d. Conseil soussigné[.] Peuvret[.] Collationné à Québec ce 12e novembre 1712[.] Vaudreuil Begon."

²⁷ "1664, Mar. 1. Two copies of certificate by Pierre Couture and Jacques de la Chesnaye of their having planted a cross and buried the royal arms

Dablon-La Vallière certificate: Couture's first name was not Pierre but Guillaume, and La Chesnaye's was not Jacques but Charles. Moreover, even in 1663 La Chesnaye was one of the most prominent businessmen of Canada. In October of that year, he bought for 30,000 livres the right of collecting taxes in the territory of the "traicte de Tadoussac."²⁸ A man of such substantial means would not have been a mere companion of Couture, serving in a secondary capacity; and in 1688, when Couture mentions two of those who went with him, he refers to two men then dead, who were far less prominent than La Chesnaye. If the latter had gone to Hudson Bay in 1663, he rather than Couture would have been called in to testify, for he was at Quebec in November 1688,²⁹ and he was more interested in the Hudson Bay trade than any one in Canada.

The first mention of these three "prises de possession" seems to be in a memorial which Hector de Callières sent to Seignelay in 1685,³⁰ but no certificates are referred to. In this memorial Callières says that two expeditions went to Hudson Bay in 1663, and that both took possession of it by setting up the king's arms there. Now, we know that there was only one expedition that year, and as we shall see presently, the men who were supposed to have led the second expedition, Pierre Duquet and Jean Langlois, actually made the voyage under Couture.

More important with regard to the question of priority is the opening paragraph of the same Callières memorial. He wrote: "It is a custom established, and a right recognized among all Christian Nations, that the first who discover an unknown country not inhabited by other Europeans, and who plant in it the arms of their Prince, secure the propriety thereof to that Prince, in whose name they have taken possession of it."³¹ Callières himself admits that the English first went to Hudson Bay with the two French renegades, Messrs. Chouart and Radisson³² in

in Hudson Bay country, the better to take possession thereof," W. G. Leland, J. J. Meng, and A. Doysié, eds., *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, 2 volumes, Washington, D. C., 1932, 1943, II, 877.

²⁸ *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, I, 19.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 253, 276.

³⁰ "Memoir of Sieur de Callières for My Lord, the Marquis of Seignelay, On the encroachments of the English on the French Colonies in America," E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the History of the State of New York* (NYCD), IX, Albany, 1855, 268.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 288.

³² The reason why Radisson did not go to Hudson Bay in 1668 is given in Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, 119-120.

1667 (*i. e.*, 1668) ; he probably did not know that Thomas James was in the bay that now bears his name in 1632, and took possession thereof on July 1 of that year.³³ But in the 1680's James' book as well as that of Fox had long been known in France, as is evident from an examination of the 1650 Sanson map of North America.³⁴ The delineation of Hudson Bay on this map is merely a variant of that in *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage*, and the nomenclature of the bay is borrowed from the map in James' book and from the map in the book of Luke Fox.³⁵ That the English realized this can be seen from their answer to one of the memorials presented by the French :

There is noe intention of Establishing a Right by Maps, yet the names given in them to Places and Countrys are convincing arguments of the Propriety.

It would seeme very strange that had they some years before had any thoughts of making pretentions to this Colony they would have permitted ye printing Mapps at Paris (licensed by the King's authority and dedicated to the Dauphin in France) in which are seen none but English names for all that part of America.³⁶

The reference in this passage is to the Sanson-Jaillet map of North America published at Paris in 1674,³⁷ which for all that pertains to the delineation and the nomenclature of Hudson Bay repeats the previous Sanson maps of North America, 1650, and of Canada, 1656.³⁸

The French flatly denied that Thomas Button took possession of Hudson Bay at the mouth of the Nelson River, and that the ceremony was repeated by Luke Fox. About Fox's replanting of the cross at the mouth of the river, they blandly said that "cette Croix n'a pu estre plantée que par les François";³⁹ but they pru-

³³ *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captaine Thomas James*, London, 1633, 112. "The copie of the Letter I left at Charleton, fastened to the Crosse the first of *Iuly*, 1632." Besides this letter were also "The two Pictures which are wrapt in lead, and fastened vppermost on this Crosse, are the liuely pictures of our Soueraigne Lord and Lady, *Charles*, the first; and Queene *Mary* his wife; King and Queene of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. The next vnder that, is his Maiesties Royall Armes: the lowermost is the Armes of the City of Bristoll," *ibid.*, 119.

³⁴ *Amerique Septentrionale*, Par N. Sanson d'Abbeville Geog. du Roy, Paris, 1650.

³⁵ *North-VVest Fox, or, Fox from the North-west passage*, London, 1635.

³⁶ *Report on Canadian Archives* 1883, 186.

³⁷ *Amerique Septentrionale* . . . Par le S^r Sanson, Presentee a Mon-seigneur le Dapphin Par . . . Hubert Iaillet, [Paris], 1674.

³⁸ *Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France*, Par Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville Geographe ordinaire du Roy, Paris, 1656.

³⁹ *Report on Canadian Archives* 1883, 180.

dently refrained from saying who these Frenchmen might have been.

In 1667 [1668], we read in one of the English memorials, Zachariah Gillam ("Old Zack"), an Englishman, entered the mouth of a river which he called Rupert River, built a fort near its mouth, which he called Fort Charles, and took possession of the said river as well as of the adjacent territory. The French admitted this, but argued that the English were so little acquainted with the country that they had to be guided by Groseilliers and Radisson, and that it was "unseemly that the treason of these two men should be used as a title against the rights of the Compagnie Française."⁴⁰ This drew a very pointed answer from the English:

The expedition made in 1667 is alone solemn enough to establish the Right of the English, and is not the less valid for the service they reaped therein from Grosseliers and Radisson said to be French men. The Venetians might as well pretend to the English Colonies, because Cabot made the discovery and the Genoese might demand reason of Spaine for their Possessions in the Indies, because Colomb was a native of that State. There are few expeditions or Voyages, and scarce any Conquests made where there is not a mixture of Forreigners 'tis sufficient that those people were not forced but hired into the service of the English nation.⁴¹

Hence according to the principle of international law appealed to by Callières, the English and not the French had a right to Hudson Bay. The French certainly were not at the mouth of the Nelson River before Button or Fox, nor in James Bay before Thomas James, nor on the shores of James Bay before Gillam, who had taken possession of the Rupert River and of the adjacent territory fully four years before Saint-Simon reached the mouth of that river. It is astonishing that the English plenipotentiaries seem to have overlooked the Relation of 1671-1672, in which Dablon and Albanel distinctly state that all the attempts made by the French before 1672 had been unsuccessful.⁴²

The exchange of notes between the diplomats of both countries went on from March to December of 1687, when a truce was agreed upon which was to last until January 11, 1689 (N. S.). During the interval inquiries were to be made in the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁴² JR, 55:234; 56:212. Cf. also *Lettres de la Venerable Mere Marie de l'Incarnation premiere Superieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1681, letter lxxxix, to her son, [1671], 672.

colonies with regard to the limits of the territory which rightfully belonged to France and England. On March 8, 1688, an order from Louis XIV was sent to the governor of New France "to make the most thorough search for the titles which prove the property which the French have over those places [Hudson Bay among them], and send them by the return of the first vessels."⁴³

These "proofs" turned out to be rather disappointing and what is found in them is altogether different from the contents of the copies of the "certificates" previously mentioned. On November 2, 1688, witnesses were called in by René Louis Chartier de Lotbinière, who had been empowered to this effect by Denonville and Champigny. One of the witnesses was Laurent Dubosc [Dubocq], aged 53, who after taking the oath, said that about thirty-one or thirty-two years ago, he embarked "with the late M. Bourdon on a bark called the *Petit Saint-Jean*"⁴⁴ . . . the said Bourdon was leaving for the *baye du Nord* with sixteen Frenchmen and two Hurons, and he, the witness, was acting as interpreter for the Indians." From Quebec they went to Percée Island, which they left toward the middle of June, sailed past Anticosti, and proceeded along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence. "They went beyond Labrador and the whole country of the Eskimo to a place where they landed after having traveled more than one hundred leagues between icebergs and the coast." The reason for landing was that the Indians invited them to barter. The next day, however, an unprovoked attack by these Indians resulted in the killing of one of the two Hurons, and the wounding of the other and of the witness himself. The two wounded men were rescued by the other Frenchmen.

The second Huron died five days later, so that the Sieur Bourdon seeing him, the witness, incapable of serving and the two Indians dead, resolved to return and in fact came back to this town, where he, the witness, was so well taken care of that he was cured, although he still feels some effects of his wounds.⁴⁵

As can be seen, there is no question even of coming near Hudson Bay, nor of taking possession of it or of the Labrador Coast where they landed. This man had every reason to remem-

⁴³ Royal instructions to Denonville, *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, 4 volumes, Quebec, 1883-1885, I, 419; NYCD, I, 371. The circular letter to the governors of the English colonies is in the *Report on Canadian Archives 1883*, 200-201.

⁴⁴ Not the *Saint François-Xavier*, as stated in the forged document relating the mythical voyage of 1656, BRH, II, 1896, 5.

⁴⁵ Enquête faite par le Lieutenant general en la Prevoste de Quebec. November 2, 1688, AC, C 11A, 10:96v-97v.

ber the journey, and his testimony agrees perfectly with what is found in the Relation of 1657-1658,⁴⁶ and with what Marie de l'Incarnation wrote in 1671.⁴⁷

Peculiarly enough, no inquiry was made about the first overland attempt to reach Hudson Bay. Druillettes, it is true, had been dead seven years in 1688, and La Vallière was in Acadia, but Dablon who had also made the journey was then in Quebec as rector of the Jesuit college there. They probably thought it better not to call in Dablon, for he could simply have referred the examiner to the Relation of 1659-1661, wherein it is specifically stated that the expedition did not go farther than Lake Nikabau.⁴⁸ The first witness actually called in by Lotbinière was Couture, and his testimony leaves no room for doubt about the failure of the second as well as the third attempt. After taking the oath, Couture declared that he was eighty years of age—he was 71—and testified that

about the middle of May of the year 1663, in consequence of the order of M. d'Avaugour, then governor . . . of this country, he left this town with M^e Pierre Duquet, who later became a notary and the king's attorney in this provotship, and with Jean Langlois, ship-carpenter, (both of whom died during the last year), to go to the Sea of the North in company with forty-four canoe-loads of Indians. They went up the Saguenay, crossed Lake Quinogamy, and also Lake Poucagamy or St. Jean Baptiste, which is about seventy-five leagues from the St. Lawrence in a northern direction. Near the latter lake there was a chapel and a French *habitation*. Thence they pursued their journey through Lake Necouba and the lake of the Mistacirinis arriving there on June 26. Here they were astonished to see more than one foot of snow fall in one night. From this place they went to Lake Nemisco and to the river [the Rupert] which empties into the Sea of the North. But at this point the Indians whom he had with him refused to go farther; all the more because the Indians who were in the said place, never having seen any Europeans, were suspicious of them and gave signs of their dislike, so that he [Couture] felt bound not to go farther; and after trading with them and giving them presents in view of a future alliance, he came back to Quebec. The witness added that about four years earlier [actually two], he went with Fathers Dablon and Druillettes, Jesuits, as far as the said Lake Necouba, but at that time they made no alliance with the Indians of the Sea of the North.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ JR, 44:188.

⁴⁷ *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter lxxxix, to her son, [1671], 672.

⁴⁸ JR, 46:288.

⁴⁹ *Enquête faite . . .*, November 2, 1688, AC, C 11A, 10:96-96v.

This declaration under oath, even though taken long after the journey, clearly shows that in 1663, when the French were nearest Hudson Bay, they were still nearly one hundred miles from the mouth of the Rupert River. It also shows that Couture did not take possession of the country in the name of the king of France, that he erected no cross, that he did not set up the arms of France nor bury any plate of copper or any other metal at the foot of a tree large or small. In fact, his commission did not call for anything of the sort; by its terms he was merely permitted to go with the Indians and to winter with them, if he could do it safely and if he judged that the commonwealth would derive some benefit therefrom.⁵⁰

In all subsequent disputes between England and France with regard to the territorial limits of each in North America, the French, of course, did not produce these damaging declarations, but merely repeated with further embellishments what they had been saying since 1687.⁵¹ Of the three attempts to reach Hudson Bay from Canada, that of Couture came nearest to the goal. As we saw, he makes no mention of having taken possession of the country at the time of his journey of 1663, although his testimony was taken to establish this fact. Merely to ascertain how far the explorers had gone would have been of no avail unless they could be proved to have taken possession of the country in the name of their sovereign at the farthest point of their explorations. Callières, indeed, had clearly stated this to be one of the essential conditions which secured the propriety of the country discovered to that prince in whose name possession had been taken. But even if Couture had set up the king's arms and gone through the ceremony at Lake Nemiskau in 1663, the English would nevertheless be entitled to the mouth of the Rupert River and to the adjacent territory in virtue of Gillam's taking possession of the same in 1668; for as Bernou wrote in 1685, "a prince who would be the lord of the headwaters of the Danube, would not therefor be the master of its mouth."⁵²

In 1667, four years after the date of d'Avaugour's permit to Couture, Father Beschefer wrote from Quebec: "Next spring

⁵⁰ Cf. BRH, VII, 1901, 41.

⁵¹ See for instance the "Memoir on the French Dominion in Canada," of 1706, in which Couture is said to have taken the latitude of the spot when he buried "His Majesty's arms engraved on copper," NYCD, IX, 784. La Potherie had this memoir, cf. *Voyages de l'Amerique* . . . , 4 volumes, Amsterdam, 1723, I, 142.

⁵² *Reflexions sur le Memoire de M. l'Abbé de Saint Vallier*, BN, Clairambault, 1016:629.

another attempt will be made to reach the Sea of the North, notwithstanding the great difficulties that have already been experienced.”⁵³ At this very time Allouez, who was then in the west, was hearing more about this Sea of the North.

The Kilistinouc [Cree] have their usual abode on the shores of the Sea of the North, and their canoes ply along a river emptying into a great bay, which we think is in all probability the one designated on the map by the name of Hutson. For those whom I have seen from that country have told me that they had known of a ship; and one of their old men declared to me that he himself had seen, at the mouth of the river of the Assinipoualac [Assiniboin], some people allied to the Kilistinouc, whose country is still farther northward.

He told me further that he had also seen a house which the Europeans had built on the mainland out of boards and pieces of wood; and that they held books in their hands, like the one he saw me holding when he told me this.⁵⁴

In 1669, Father Dablon, the same missionary who had gone to Lake Nikabau in 1661, came to the Northwest as superior of the Jesuit missions there. In the early part of 1670, while at Sault Ste. Marie, he wrote a report which was later printed in the *Relation* of 1669-1670. Besides the various tribes depending on the mission, there are, he says, “six other nations which are either people from the Sea of the North . . . or wanderers in the country around the same Sea of the North.” He then resolved to make a journey to that sea and gives two reasons for going thither. The first was to investigate means and methods best adapted to the evangelization of the nomadic tribes. “The second motive for this journey is to discover at last that Sea of the North, about which there has been so much talk already, and which has not as yet been found by land.” He wished to find out whether “that sea is the bay penetrated by Hudson in the year 1612,⁵⁵ or some other bay”; and he also wished “to ascertain what part of the Sea of the North is nearest to us.” He was also eager to learn whether this sea could be reached from Quebec

by following the northern shores [Labrador Coast], as was attempted [by Jean Bourdon] some years ago. This depends on the situation of this bay, which we here [Sault Ste. Marie] have at our backs, toward the north. If this happens to be Hudson Bay or another one farther west [Button's Bay], an easy communication [with Quebec] cannot

⁵³ JR, 50:176.

⁵⁴ JR, 51:56.

⁵⁵ Hudson sighted the open waters of the bay that bears his name, August 3, 1610.

be hoped for, since it would be necessary to double a cape [Cape Wolstenholme] lying above latitude 63°. ⁵⁶

We know that the other bay farther west of Button's Bay and that the cape above latitude 63° is Cape Wolstenholme, because when Dablon wrote this passage he had before him either the Sanson map of North America of 1650 or that of Canada of 1656. He himself did not make the contemplated journey to the Sea of the North; it was Albanel's voyage to Hudson Bay that solved the geographical problem which had been puzzling Dablon and others for a long time. As an introduction to Albanel's journal, Dablon wrote as follows:

The sea to the north of us is the famous bay to which Hudson gave his name; it has been stirring our Frenchmen's curiosity to discover it by land, and learn its situation with reference to ourselves, the distance from here [Quebec], and what tribes dwell on its shores. The wish to gain a knowledge of this sea increased after we learned through our Indians that very recently some ships made their appearance there, and even opened a trade with those nations, who have always been represented to us as populous and rich in peltries.

Therefore M. Talon, our intendant, deemed it his duty to neglect no means in his power to effect this discovery; and, knowing that it was His Majesty's intention to have all the tribes of Canada instructed in Christianity, he asked for one of our Fathers to open a way for our Frenchmen to that bay at the same time when he bore the Gospel thither.

Accordingly we [*i. e.*, Father Le Mercier, Dablon's predecessor as superior of the Jesuits in New France] fixed our choice on Father Charles Albanel, veteran missionary to Tadoussac, since he had had much intercourse with the Indians who possess a knowledge of that sea and who alone are able to act as guides over those hitherto unknown ways. ⁵⁷

Paul Denis, Sieur de Saint-Simon, and another Frenchman also represented the government on this expedition. The re-

⁵⁶ JR, 54:132-136.

⁵⁷ JR, 56:148-150. Three months after their departure, Talon wrote to Colbert, November 2, 1671, that he had heard three times from Albanel and Saint-Simon. *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1930-1931*, (RAPQ), Quebec, 1931, 158. Cf. JR, 56:156, and *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter lxxxix, to her son, [1671], 675. Talon learning from those letters that English vessels had wintered in the bay had no doubt that the English were encroaching upon French territory: "Comme ces terres ont esté anciennement decouvertes, premierement par les françois, j'ay donné commission aud. s^r de s^t simon de prendre poseesssion reiterée au nom de sa Majesté avec ordre d'y arborer l'escusson de france dont il est chargé et de dresser son procez verbal en la forme que je luy ay donné."

mainder of this long chapter in the Relation, fifty pages in the original, contains the journal of Father Albanel, wherein there is a damaging statement about the priority claims which the French were to advance fifteen years later.

In 1672, when Dablon wrote that Indians had reported the arrival of some ships in Hudson Bay, he was referring to news which had disturbed the officialdom of Canada in 1670. In a memoir dated November 10 of that year, Talon had written to Colbert:

From Algonkin who wintered this year at Tadoussac, I learned that two European vessels have been seen "wigwaming," as the Indians put it, quite near Hudson Bay. After considering which nation might have penetrated so far north, I can only think of the English who may have dared to attempt such a navigation over this very little known and not less dangerous route, under the guidance of one Desgrozeliers, formerly an inhabitant of Canada. I intend sending thither overland some determined man to invite the Kilistinons [Cree] who are very numerous in the vicinity of that bay, to come to us as the Ottawa do, so as to get directly from them what is brought to us by the latter. For the Ottawa acting as middlemen between the other tribes and us make us pay for the roundabout detour of three or four hundred leagues.⁵⁸

The information supplied by these Indians was correct and so was Talon's surmise with regard to the nationality of the bold navigators. When Albanel arrived at the mouth of the Rupert River, the English had already spent two winters there, that of 1668-1669, and of 1670-1671.⁵⁹ On June 28, 1672, he wrote in his journal,

scarcely had we proceeded a quarter of a league when we encountered in a small stream on our left, a hoy of ten or twelve tons, with its rigging, carrying the English flag and a lateen sail. A musket-shot's distance thence, we entered two deserted houses. A little farther on, we found that the Indians had wintered near there, and had recently taken their departure. We pursued our course, accordingly, as far as a point of land six leagues distant from the house of the Europeans.

They were now at the mouth of the Rupert River. This was

⁵⁸ Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, RAPQ, 1931, 124. Cf. *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter lxxxiv, to her son, August 27, 1670, 649-650, where the good nun gives the Groseilliers story as it was being told in Quebec, adding that the King of England had made the French adventurer a Knight of the Order of the Garter, "que l'on dit être une dignité fort honorable."

⁵⁹ Nute, *op. cit.*, 117-119, 123, 134-139.

the first overland journey ever made by Frenchmen from Tadousac to the "Sea of Destiny."⁶⁰

All that evening we remained there firing loud musket-shots to make ourselves heard [by the Indians whom they thought were near-by] and considering with pleasure the sea which we had so eagerly sought and this so famous Hudson Bay, of which we shall speak later.⁶¹

The houses spoken of by the missionary in his journal were the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, which the English together with Chouart and Radisson had left in July of the preceding year;⁶² and in this very month, June 1672, three ships were leaving England for the Rupert River, arriving there in October.⁶³

In Albel's journal, which was in print in the first months of 1673, it is clearly stated that this was the first successful journey by the French to Hudson Bay, and that when they arrived at the mouth of the Rupert River there were unmistakable signs of the English having been there. As we have seen, the reason for the inquiry of 1688 was precisely to prove that the rights of France anteceded those of England; and since the narrative of the expedition of 1671-1672 had been in print fifteen years, there would seem to be no reason for questioning those who had taken part in it. In 1688 Albel was not available, for he was in the West that year, but Paul Denis, Sieur de Saint-Simon, was called in by Lotbinière.

In 1671, he testified, he left Quebec by order of Talon "to go to the Baye du Nord in order to set up the arms of the king there." With him were Father Albel and a Frenchman named Sébastien Pennasca. He went up the Saguenay, crossed Lakes Quinongamy, Puagamy or St. Jean, Necouba, Mistaciriny, and Nemisco, and then

descended a great river which led him to the said bay. On the bank of the said river and quite near the said bay, he found two deserted houses, which, as he learned afterwards, had been built by the English. He did not notice that any one had spent the winter there, for the houses were in a very bad state of disrepair, having no doors nor windows, and were built of uprights and roofed with reeds. They were therefore forced to go farther along the bay toward the north to find the Indians.

⁶⁰ H. D. Carter, *Sea of Destiny; the Story of Hudson Bay—Our Undefended Backdoor*, New York, 1940.

⁶¹ JR, 56:184-186.

⁶² Nute, *op. cit.*, 138.

⁶³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 142.

Many Indians who were found at a place called Scoutenagachy,⁶⁴ were told by "the said Father Albanel, who speaks their language perfectly,"⁶⁵ that the King of France was taking them under his protection and would defend them against the Iroquois provided they embraced the Catholic Faith. Many children were brought to be baptized,⁶⁶ and presents were exchanged between the Indians and the French.

Having returned to the said river he had a post set up to which a plaque of tinned iron bearing the arms of His Majesty was affixed. The return journey was along the same route as that taken coming to the bay, and on the way back he also set up the same arms in the same manner on the shore of Lake Nemisco and on that of the great Mistaciriny Lake,⁶⁷ for he had brought along the said three tinned iron plaques for this purpose, and at the time, he drew a procès-verbal of all this which he handed over to M. Talon on arriving at Quebec.⁶⁸

Talon, as is well known, particularly insisted that explorers should take formal possession in the name of the king of France of all territories which they discovered,⁶⁹ because, as Callières wrote, by such acts the countries became the property of the sovereign in whose name possession was taken. In the case of Saint-Simon, however, this formality was quite useless, since, as Callières also said, in order to be valid the French should have reached the shores of Hudson Bay before the English. To say

⁶⁴ Miskoutenagachit in Albanel's journal, JR, 56:186; the East Main River, according to Crouse, *Geographical Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits*, 166.

⁶⁵ "Le Reverend Pere Albanel est parti avec eux pour porter la Foi en leur pais: Il scait en perfection la langue Montagneze, qui est celle de ce Peuple," *Lettres de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, letter lxxxix, to her son, [1671], 672.

⁶⁶ Cf. Albanel's journal, JR, 56:188 ff.

⁶⁷ Neither in Albanel's journal nor in the declaration of Saint-Simon is there any mention of having found the arms of Great Britain set up at the mouth of the Rupert River. Yet in January 1676 a petition of the stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company to the king of England says that "in ye absence of y^r Peticone^{rs} ships [Albanel] pulled downe yo^r Ma^{es} Ensignes w^{ch} were set up in Hudsons Bay," Nute, *op. cit.*, 167; this was repeated in a letter of 1684 of Sir James Hayes, *ibid.*, 153. No "prise de possession" at the mouth of the Rupert River is mentioned in Albanel's journal, but on the return journey, at "Nemiskau, nous arborâmes les armes du Roy sur la pointe de l'Isle, qui coupe ce Lac, le neufiesme de Juillet"; JR, 56:206; and on July 19, "sur les deux heures après midy je plantay les armes de nostre puissant & invincible Monarque sur cette [Minahigouskat] riviere," *ibid.*, 210.

⁶⁸ Enquete faite . . ., November 2, 1688, AC, C 11A, 10:98-98v.

⁶⁹ Talon to Louis XIV, November 10, 1670, RAPQ, 1931, 121; *id. to id.*, November 2, 1671, *ibid.*, 157-158, etc.; especially *id. to* Colbert, November 10, 1670, *ibid.*, 137, "Le petit procès verbal cotté D. qu'ils [MM. Dollier and Galinée] ont dressé un peu à la haste et sans luy donner toute sa forme," mentioned by Talon in this letter is in AC, C 11A, 3:56, printed in Margry, I, 166.

nothing of Button, Fox, and James, Zachariah Gillam had taken formal possession of the Rupert River and of the adjacent territory in 1668; that is, four years before Saint-Simon arrived there; and on September 1, 1670 (O. S.), Bayly had taken "formal possession of 'all the Lands and Territoryes' of Port Nelson 'for His Ma^{tie} and in token thereof, nayled up the Kings Arms in Brasse on a Small Tree there.'"⁷⁰

Albanel arrived at Tadoussac August 1, 1672, whence he proceeded to Quebec and reported to those "who had employed me";⁷¹ namely, to Father Dablon, who had returned from the West and who had been in office as superior of the Jesuit missions in New France since the preceding July,⁷² and to Talon who was soon to leave Canada.

One month after Albanel's return, Frontenac landed at Quebec. In a long postscript to a letter of the following year, the governor wrote:

I forgot to inform you, my Lord, that upon learning that des Groseilliers was enticing all the Indians away from us and by making them presents was attracting them to Hudson Bay, where he has an establishment, I determined to make use of the zeal of Father Albanel, a Jesuit, who wished to go and open a mission in that part of the country. He will endeavor to dissuade the Indians, with whom he has great influence, from going thither. . . .

The said Father Albanel will sound out des Groseilliers, if he encounter him, and will try to win him over to our side.⁷³

Having left Quebec too late in 1673, the missionary was forced to spend the winter with the Indians en route,⁷⁴ and only reached the bay at the beginning of September 1674.⁷⁵ What

⁷⁰ Nute, *op. cit.*, 136, quoting an affidavit of Nehemiah Walker of June 14, 1687.

⁷¹ JR, 56:210. A. C. Laut, *The Conquest of the Great Northwest*, 2 volumes, New York, 1908, I, 130, writes that "the date of his journal, 1672, is wrong by two years." The date of Albanel's journal of his first voyage, 1671-1672, is quite correct; no journal of the second voyage, 1673-1674, if one was written, JR, 61:150-152, has come down to us. It is clear that the above-mentioned author was unaware of the two voyages of Albanel to Hudson Bay.

⁷² Cf. "Claude Dablon, S. J. (1619-1697)," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 100.

⁷³ Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 50.

⁷⁴ Cf. the journal of Father de Crépéul, JR, 59:34-38; and the letter of Dablon to Pinette, October 24, 1674, *ibid.*, 64.

⁷⁵ Cf. John Oldmixon, "The History of Hudson's-Bay," in *The British Empire in America*, London, 1708, 382-412, reprinted by J. B. Tyrrell, ed., in *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, Toronto, 1931, 10, 393. "On the 30th of August [O. S.] a canoo arriv'd at Rupert's River, with a Missionary Jesuit, a Frenchman born of English Parents." There is no authority for the last clause.

happened is well known: Bayly⁷⁶ shipped him to England the following year.⁷⁷

For the next seven years, writes Tyrrell, we know very little about the movements of the English traders in the bay, but we are assured by a memorial prepared by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1687 that it had had undisturbed possession of its trading-posts on the bay up to 1682. In this time, in addition to the trading-post on the Rupert river, trading-posts had also been built on the Moose and Albany rivers.⁷⁸

It is during the interval spoken of by Tyrrell that Jolliet went to Hudson Bay. The document printed below is—or was—in the Archives du Services Hydrographique, fifth *carton* (box or portfolio), and is the fourth, but numbered *pièce* 3, of "six documents relative to Hudson Bay and to attempts made to discover the northwest passage to the South Sea" (ASH, 5:no. 4). In the upper left-hand corner of the first page a few cancelled words are illegible; and just below, in pencil, are the words: "Chercher la Carte." This map is referred to by the clerk who endorsed the document.⁷⁹ In the upper right-hand corner is a note: "He [Jolliet] found the English established there [at the mouth of the Rupert River. He speaks of] the manner in which he was received and of their settlements."

After giving one of the several routes from Lake St. John to Rupert Bay which Jolliet may have taken, Gagnon goes on to say: "We shall now let M. Margry speak. He seems to have had in his hands the journal, now no longer to be found, which Jolliet kept during his exploration of 1679."⁸⁰ All that Margry saw is the document published below. It is a report written by the explorer in Quebec, who made use of his field notes as a basis. As

⁷⁶ On Charles Bayly, cf. Rich, *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company*, li-liv, and Appendix G, 209-213.

⁷⁷ Oldmixon in Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, 393-395; Rich, *op. cit.*, 212; Nute, *op. cit.*, 152-153.

⁷⁸ Tyrrell, *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, 10.

⁷⁹ "Envoyé par M. de Frontenac le 8. no. 1679. avec la Carte de lad. Baye." I have not seen this letter of Frontenac which is in ASH, 111-1:no. 5. In a document entitled "Memoire sur la domination des françois en Canada jusqu'en 1687," containing summaries and extracts from letters written by the governors and intendants of New France since 1669, it is said that, among other enclosures, Frontenac sent with his letters of November 6 and November 8, 1679: "la relation et la carte du voyage que le S^r Joliet a fait a la baye d'HUDSON, et que les fermiers du Canada luy ont demandé; cette relation est datée du 27 octobre 1679 et signée Joliet"; AC, C 11A, 9:281v. A copy of the whole document made in 1706 is translated in NYCD, IX, 781-803, the pertinent passage will be found on page 795.

⁸⁰ E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississipi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur de l'Île d'Anticosti*, Montreal, 1913², 218.

is expressly stated in the title it was abridged by some official, and as we learn from a note at the end of the document, it was sent to Paris by Frontenac together with a map of Hudson Bay on November 8, 1679. In the third installment of his study on Jolliet, Margry "edited" this report, further abridged it, and, as was his wont, inserted in the text comments of his own which, except for their silliness, are indistinguishable from the original report.⁸¹

The map mentioned above is the earliest extant autograph map of Jolliet.⁸² Even with the help of this cartographical docu-

⁸¹ P. Margry, "Louis Joliet," *Revue Canadienne*, VIII, 1871, 930-942; IX, 1872, 61-72, 121-138, 205-219. The reader may compare Margry's version, IX, 124, of Jolliet's meeting with the English and the same occurrence as narrated in the document published herewith.

⁸² To list accurately Jolliet's maps of Hudson Bay is not easy, because, owing to present-day world conditions, the originals are inaccessible. As will be seen titles, press-marks, and measurements vary greatly, although it is question of the same map.

The map of 1679 has no title, but in the lower left-hand corner is the following legend transcribed as it is on the facsimile published by Pinart, and in HARRISSE, *Notes*, 197, no. 207; the words italicized bring out the differences.

Pinart

Cette carte montre le chemin que
Louis Jolliet a fait // depuis tadous-
sac iusqu'a la mer du Nord, dans
la // Baye D'hudson; et marque la
vraye situation // de la Baye et
du d'estroit. ce qui est marqué de
rouge // est le chemin par ou il
a esté. // fait a Quebec en Can-
ada // le 8^{me}. novembre 1679. // L.
Jolliet. //

Harrisse

Cette carte montre le chemin que
Louis Jolliet a fait // depuis *Tadous-*
sac iusqu'à la Mer du Nord, dans
// la Baye *de Hudson*, et marque la
vraye situation de la Baye et du
Detroit // Ce qui est marqué *par*
des points est le chemin par ou //
il a esté // fait à Quebec en Can-
ada // le 8^{me}. novembre 1679. L.
Jolliet. //

The original which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes, Vol. 388 (153), is reproduced in A.-L. Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes, Plans et Vues relatifs aux États-Unis et au Canada* . . ., Paris, 1893, pl. 23. The cuttings in G. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, Supplément à l'ouvrage de M. Harrisse*, Paris, 1885, 9, no. 10, are identical with those of the facsimile in Pinart, but Marcel modernized the wording of the legend thus: the initial of tadoussac, of hudson, and of fait, is capitalized; the two prepositions and the adverb are accented. The original is said to be in the Dépôt des Cartes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièce 179 du Recueil Baudrand, tome VI, Vol. 388. As can be seen, the reference is the same as that given by Pinart except for the number of the map, 179 instead of 153. In 1892, however, when Marcel published his *Catalogue des documents géographiques exposés à la Section des Cartes et Plans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 23, no. 169, he listed this map under the same number, 153, as Pinart in the *Recueil* of 1893. The facsimile in Pinart measures, outer frame, 740x483 mm.; inner frame, 710x453 mm.; while Marcel both in *Cartographie* and in *Catalogue*, gives 770x520 mm., and what is apparently the same map, the title is incomplete, with the recent call-number, Ge. C. C. 1275, listed in Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History*, I, 225, is said to measure 560x345 mm. The differences between the measurements of the Pinart facsimile and those given by Marcel are probably due to the fact that the latter measured the whole sheet instead of the map itself; but unless there is a misprint in Leland, I cannot account for the differences between his and the other two sets of measurements.

After the entry in his *Cartographie*, 10, Marcel adds in note: "A tracing

ment, we cannot be sure of the route which he followed in his voyage to Hudson Bay. As we observed in the previous footnote, the inscription in the lower right-hand corner reads: "What is marked in red is the route which he followed"; but in the Pinart black and white facsimile, the red line cannot be made out, and present-day conditions preclude all access to the original.

There were several routes from Lake St. John to Lake Mistassini, any one of which Jolliet may have taken, and he may have

of this map made by d'Anville differs very little from no. 207 of M. H. HARRISSE, and is in the [Archives des] A[ffaires] E[trangères], D[épôt] G[éographique], no. 8665." I did not see this d'Anville tracing, which, together with the rest of his collection was transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1924, and listed as Ge. DD. 2987. No. 8665. This tracing is also listed, no. 7124, in an eighteenth-century manuscript in the Library of Congress, "Inventaire de la Collection de Cartes de M. d'Anville," under the title: "Carte huilée du chemin que L. Jolliet a fait depuis Tadoussac jusqu'à la Mer du Nord dans la Baye d'Hudson &c."

The title of the map listed by HARRISSE, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire*, . . ., Paris, 1872, 197, no. 207, and referred to by Marcel is given above. The archival number is ASH, 123-8-11; the map measures 700x480 mm. In view of the important variant in the title, and in view of the fact that this map is found in a different repository, I conclude that two maps, quite similar, illustrating the voyage of Jolliet to Hudson Bay were sent to Paris in 1679. Whether that in ASH is in the handwriting of Jolliet I cannot say, for I have not seen the original or a photograph of it, but that in the Bibliothèque Nationale reproduced by Pinart is undoubtedly an autograph Jolliet map. This conclusion seems confirmed by the following consideration. As we have seen, the map reproduced by Pinart was originally in the Baudrand Collection. Michel Baudrand, Eusèbe Renaudot, and Claude Bernou pooled their geographical notes, their sketches and maps. On June 27, 1683, Bernou writing from Rome to Renaudot told the latter to warn Coronelli, who was then finishing his globe, not to trust the maps of North America and Hudson Bay by Sanson, "because they are worthless"; instead, he recommended the map "which I helped to draw"; (Cf. J. Delanglez, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, Chicago, 1941, 111-119) and "that which Jolliet drew of his voyage from Tadoussac to Hudson Bay." BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19. It is very likely Bernou who communicated a copy of this Jolliet map to Claude Delisle. Cf. J. Delanglez, "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 287-288.

HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, 197, no. 207, added the following note to the entry of the map of 1679: "A duplicate of this map is in the same portfolio [ASH, 123-8-12], but measures 750x500 mm." Marcel, *Cartographie*, 14, no. 15, says that HARRISSE mistakenly speaks of the ASH, 123-8-12 map as a duplicate, but says nothing of the difference between his measurements, 650x420 mm., and those of HARRISSE; the latter's correspond exactly with those written on the photograph of this map in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions. Strictly speaking, the later map is not a duplicate of the earlier one; however, it is also an autograph Jolliet map made in 1684 on a draft of that of 1679. This second map is likewise without title, but in the upper right-hand corner is the following dedication: A Monseigneur // Monseigneur de la Barre Gouverneur // et Lieutenant General pour le Roy en toute // l'estendue de la Nouvelle France. // The clausula, the signature and the date are in the lower right-hand corner: Par son tres humble et tres // obeissant et tres fidelle seruiteur // et suiet // Jolliet. // . 1684. // This 1684 map is also one of the sources used by Claude Delisle for his map of 1703, *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 287. The map was sent by La Barre to Seignelay, November 14, 1684, *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, I, 332.

gone up one way and come back by another route. From the north, Lake St. John receives

the waters of three rivers—the Peribonka, the Mistassini and the Chamouchouan [Ashwamuchuan on some maps], the mouths of the last two being within a few miles of each other. It is well to note, since it forms the principal route from Lake St. John to Lake Mistassini, that the Chamouchouan is made by the junction of two streams, the Chief [*alias* Rivière du Chef] (and its continuation the Sapin Croche) that rises in File Axe [or Fileaxe] Lake near Lake Mistassini, and the Chebogich [Chibougich on some maps] whose continuation, the Nikaubau, rises in Lake Nikaubau. The two branches join just above Chaudière Falls at the forty-ninth parallel. Lake Nikaubau is located south of Lake Obatagamou, which . . . is one of the chain emptying into Lake Mistassini. . . .

By ascending the Chamouchouan and the Chegobich one reaches Lake Nikaubau on the divide. Crossing the divide at this point and passing down through Lakes Obatagamou, Chibougamou and Wawanichi [also Wakanichi] one reaches Mistassini; in fact, this route was chosen by Fathers Dablon and Albanel as less difficult than the shorter one by way of the Chief River and File Axe Lake.⁸³

This brief and clear description of the hydrography of the region between Lake St. John and Lake Mistassini enables one to identify with certainty two of the three rivers shown on Jolliet's map of 1679, but for reasons already given, it is impossible to determine which of these rivers he followed. There is no difficulty in identifying the Peribonka; for the river is legended on the map "R. periboca" near its mouth, and "R. necouba" is the Ashwamuchuan. The "R. Kakiga8sipi" probably represents the Mistassini River with its tributary the Washimeska whose headwaters are a short distance from the Nestawkanow, the eastern branch of the Chief River. On leaving Lake Mistassini—oriented east-west on his map instead of northeast-southwest—Jolliet followed the Marten River down to where this tributary of the Rupert joins the main stream, about fifteen miles east of Lake Nemiskau.

A dotted line originating at Lake Nipissing follows the Ottawa, but the course of this river is not shown on the map; another dotted line begins at Fort Frontenac and meets that coming from Lake Nipissing at Montreal. These two routes are called "Chemin des Outaouas," and "chemin du fort frontenac," respectively. From Montreal the course of the St. Lawrence

⁸³ Crouse, *Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits*, 145-146, 149.

through Three Rivers to Quebec is represented by a dotted line; thereafter the river itself appears on the map.

Five years later Jolliet redrew this map of 1679 and dedicated it to Governor Lefebvre de la Barre. In this second draft, however, he began drawing the northern part too low, so that at the latitude of Quebec, he was at the end of his paper. In the lower left-hand corner he wrote: "Sault Ste Marie par 46," which is the latitude of this mission on the 1679 map. The frame of the 1684 map, drawn after the map was finished, cuts across the island [Baffin] bounded by David [Davis] and Hudson Straits. On the earlier map, Baffin is represented as two islands separated by a "destroit qui est toujours plein de glace." This may have been intended to indicate Frobisher Bay or Cumberland Gulf, the northernmost part of which reaches the Arctic Circle. An unnamed bay, 125 miles deep, is shown on the map of 1684, and probably takes the place of the "strait which is always full of ice" mentioned on the map of 1679.

On both maps the Labrador Coast, from the Strait of Belle Isle to Cape Wolstenholme at latitude 63° is represented as a line running from the southeast to the northwest; the coast is unindented, and there is no indication of Ungava Bay; and on both maps there is a difference varying from one to one and a half degrees between the position of identifiable landmarks and their true latitude. With regard to the legends inscribed on the two maps, the later one has more names along the banks of the St. Lawrence, while less rivers are shown or named than on the earlier one. For instance he does not legend the Peribonka nor the Mistassini nor the Ashwapmichuan.

Three routes to Hudson Bay not shown on the map of 1679 are on that of 1684. Two "chemins des sauuages a la baye" are indicated by dotted lines from "lac limibogon [Nipigon] par 51°"; the southern trail leads to the "R. Kechitchioüen [Albany River]," the northern one to the "R. Penatchichioüen [Attawapiskat River?]." The third, "chemin des francois et des sauuages a la baye," is from the "R. Matoüan [upper course of the Ottawa]" to the "R. Monsonis [Moose River]." To indicate that the English had trading posts at the mouth of these three rivers, there is a square legended "anglois."

Attention may be called to two descriptive legends. On the earlier map, south of Lake Mistassini near the discharge of Lake Albanel, Jolliet drew a square and wrote "françois"; inside the larger lake he inscribed the following: "Lac timigaming ou iay

basti une maison." On the later map the wording of this inscription is simply: "maison Jolliet." The second descriptive legend regards Anticosti Island. When he made the map of 1679, Jolliet had not yet been granted the Anticosti concession, but in 1684 he had been living there with his family for the past four summers. He called attention to his new domicile by writing across the island "maison Jolliet." In view of these inscriptions, it is not improbable that in 1684 Jolliet was still using the building on Lake Mistassini as a warehouse or that he had agents there.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

DOCUMENT

Abregé du voyage de Louis Jolliet en 1679 jusqu'a la Mer du Nord dans une grande Ance appelée Baye D'hudson, ou les Anglois font presentement le plus beau Commerce du Canada.

Ce fut le 13^e de May de l'année 1679 que je partis de Quebec avec huit hommes¹ pour visiter toutes les Riuieres et tous les Lacs qui dependent de la traite de Tadoussac,² mon entrée dans les terres fut par le Saguenay qui vient proche d'un grand Lac nomme Timagaming [Mistassini] qui est la source de la Riuiera de Nemisco [Rupert River] qui se Decharge dans la Baye du Nord, sur laquelle Je fis toute ma route jusqu'a la Mer.

Après auoir fait 343 lieües en destours, quoiqu'il n'y en ayt que 160 en droite ligne, et 122 portages, tant grands que petits Nous trouuâmes au pied d'Un Cap de terre glaise, ou les raports de la marée, Nous firent juger que Nous etions proche de la Baye doublant le Cap, Nous la decourismes tout d'un coup et Nous

¹ "Dans son résumé du journal de Jolliet, M. Margry ne fait nulle mention du P. Antoine Silvy . . . D'après le 'deuxième registre' de Tadoussac, le P. Silvy aurait accompagné Jolliet 'en mai 1679, à la baie d'Hudson,' " Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 225. If Silvy went with Jolliet and if Jolliet mentioned the missionary in his report, it is the abridger who omitted his name, just as the author of a version of the discovery of the Mississippi, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:176-177v, a garbled compilation which has been repeatedly attributed to Jolliet, omitted all mention of Marquette. I have not been able to examine the "deuxième registre" referred to by Gagnon, but from a study of this document by A. E. Gosselin, it does not appear that Father Silvy went with Jolliet as far as Hudson Bay. Gosselin writes: "On le [Silvy] trouve, soit à Chicoutimi, soit au lac Saint-Jean. Au mois de mai 1679, il est, pour nous servir des expressions même du registre: *ad norticum*, et encore: à Saint-Xavier où il établit la mission de Némiskau." *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 3, XI, 1917, sect. 1, 120, "A Chicoutimi et au Lac St.-Jean à la fin du XVII^{ème} siècle. Notes tirées d'un ancien registre."

² The meaning and the boundaries of the "traite de Tadoussac" are given by Gagnon, *op. cit.*, 211.

eusmes le plaisir pendant un beau Calme, de Considerer la Mer et le fort des Anglois qui n'estoient qu'a une lieue de nous.³

Le Courant Nous mena insensiblement deuant le fort ou ne voiant personne Nous tirasmes un coup de fuzil, [*verso*] afin de faire sortir quelqu'un, ne voulant pas les surprendre en débarquant sans estre veus Incontinent on Nous repondit, non du fort, car il ny auoit personne, mais de l'autre bord, de la Riuiere ou estoient trois Anglois a la chasse et comme leur bateau s'etoit echoué, la marée estant basse, et qu'ils nous prenoient pour des estrangers qui descendoient en traite Ils nous crierent en sauuage d'aller a eux pour les passer au Fort, La Riuiere etoit fort large et nous etions trop eloignez pour estre reconnus françois Nous allions deuers eux, et eux venoient a Nous sur les battures, lorsque le premier qui deuançoient les autres d'environ trois cens pas s'aperceut que nous n'etions pas de leurs gens, il n'hesita pas a retourner sur ses pas rejoindre les autres et plus ie luy disois de venir et de n'auoir point depeur, et plus il se pressoit Les voiant tous trois arrestez a nous regarder, Nous débarquames, et je leur parlay françois celui qui l'entendoit un peu nous repondit, demanda qui nous etions, luy ayant crié que j'estois françois et que mon nom etoit Jolliet, Il s'en vint a Nous, Nous leur fismes toutes sortes de ciuilitiez, qui ne manquerent pas de leur costé, Le premier s'embarqua avec nous et les deux autres se mirent dans un Canot sauuage que nous auions trouué six lieues plus hault, qui [*recto*] redescendoit pour scaoir les nouuelles que nous n'auions pas voulu luy dire, et qui nous auoient joint pendant ce Dialogue, qui luy donna sujet de rire, et de se moquer de leur peu de hardiesse et d'experience.

Voiant qu'il n'entendoit pas le françois, je luy parlay latin il me dit quil le scauoit mieux que nostre langue⁴ Pour lors nous neumes pas de peine a Nous faire connoistre nos pensees l'un l'autre Il me monstra la peninsule ou etoit leur Gouverneur⁵ trois

³ On the maps of 1679 and 1684, this fort is situated on the south bank of the Rupert River, near present-day Rupert House.

⁴ The identity of this English backwoodsman who knew Latin well enough to carry a conversation in that language has not been ascertained. Cf. Gagnon's comments in *Louis Jolliet*, 220.

⁵ This governor was Charles Bayly. Two centuries ago, J. Robson had difficulties with regard to the succession of the Hudson Bay governors, cf. *An Account of six years residence in Hudson's Bay, 1733-1736, 1744-1747*, London, 1752, Appendix I, 7. These difficulties have been recently cleared up. Thus in *The Conquest of the Great Northwest*, 130, Laut quoted from a letter of Morgan Lodge to Sir Joseph Williamson dated September 24, 1675 (O.S.), but left out two lines giving the explanation; and the "Laut Transcripts" in the E. E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago are of little help, for these "transcripts" from the Hudson's Bay

ou quatre lieues au large, avec un Nauire de Douze pieces de Canon, et deux petites barques, Il nous menerent au fort et nous receurent tres bien, Nous donnant tout ce qu'ils auoient de meilleur a Manger de ce quil leur restoit, Car le vaisseau n'etoit pas encore arriué de Londres dans lequel on enuoie tous les ans ce qui leur est necessaire pour leur prouisions.

Mon dessein etoit de partir le lendemain sans attendre le Gouverneur, mais ils me firent tant d'instance pour sejourner que je resolu de demeurer, aussitost qu'il fut jour un Canot sauuage partit pour l'aller auertir et je luy enuoïé une lettre qui contenoit ce qui suit

Monsieur

Aiant été employé par Monseigneur le Comte Defrontenac Gouverneur de tout le Canada pour visiter les Nations et les terres du domaine du Roy [*verso*] en ce pais,⁶ Je suis descendu jusqu'au lac de Nemisco pour retourner par les trois Riuieres⁷ estant a ce lac et n'ayant plus de viures, et ne trouuant rien a tuer, faisant d'ailleurs reflexion que plusieurs françois ces années dernieres etoient reuenus de chez vous,⁸ avec toute sorte de Louange de la bonne reception que vous leur auiez faite,⁹ Jay cru que vous ne me feriez pas moins de faueur qu'a eux, et qu'en vous paiant vous me donneriez un peu de Gallette et de boisson

Company papers are in reality notes jotted down haphazardly. From what A. S. Morton writes in *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-1871*, London, [1939], 78-79, it is clear that the governor who received Jolliet was Bayly, but Morton does not give the documentary proof for his statement; namely, the Morgan Lodge letter mentioned above, wherein the latter announces the return of the *Shaftesbury* from "hudson bay in the norwest . . . it seems they carryed [in 1674] A new Governor [William Lydall] for that new cullenly: but he finding that affaires thare, did not pleas him: he is returned Home Againe & Left the old governor [Bayly] thare." The following day the same writer announced the arrival of the *Prince Rupert* "Capt. Gilam Comandr. . . . I was on bord of him and he tells me that the were forced to winter there, and spend those Provisions which the should have Left there for the New Governor [Lydall] and the men thett was to stay with him for which Reason the were forced to bringe the said Governor and men home againe, and have onely Left four men [among whom was Bayly] there [Charles Fort] to Kepe Possession of the said Place," Rich, *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 212.

⁶ "La traite de Tadoussac" and "les terres du domaine du Roy," were one and the same thing; cf. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 211.

⁷ Neither in the document nor in the map of 1679 is there any indication that Jolliet returned to Quebec by way of the St. Maurice, although there is on the map a rough sketch of this river. For a description of this route, cf. Crouse, *Geographical Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits*, 145.

⁸ It is unlikely that Jolliet refers to Thomas Leclerc and Eustache Prevost, whom Bayly sent to England on the *Shaftesbury* in 1677. Cf. A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 79.

⁹ Cf. the "Transactions" of 1687, *Report on Canadian Archives* 1883, 177, 178.

pour me faciliter mon retour, vos gens me font esperer que vous viendrez Icy, Je ne partiray que demain, si je suis assez heureux que de vous voir, j'auray bien de la joie de vous saluer et de vous assurer que je suis

Il N'eust pas plustost receu ma lettre qu'il s'embarqua dans une barque de 15 tonneaux avec 15 hommes. Le vent luy manquant a moitié chemin, il se mit dans son batteau, accompagné de cinq matelots, je fus seul au deuant de luy le long de la Mer demy quart de lieue je le saluay de loing, un batture de sable l'empescha de débarquer vis a vis de moy, il me passa me disant Mons.^r je suis a vous, Cinquante pas plus hault il eut beau aborder et vint seul vers moy pendant ce temps la quatre de ses gens estoient dans le bateau [*recto*] assis, et un estoit a terre debout tenant un fuzil a la main, les saluts furent reciproques de Ciuiletez et de temoignage de bien veillance, sa premiere parole fut Mons.^r soiez le bien venu, vous estes ici en pais et n'avez rien a craindre, vous y demeurerez tant qu'il vous plaira, et quand vous voudrez vous en retourner, ie vous aideray de tout ce que ie pouray pour votre voyage Il y a longtemps que j'ay ouy parler de vous, et je suis rauy d'auoir l'occasion de vous entretenir et de vous entendre parler de cette grande descouuerte que vous avez faite du Costé du Mexique sur la Riuiere que les Sauuages appellent Mississipi. Les Anglois font estat des Descouureurs, et me prenant par la main allons dit il puisque vous n'avez aucun dessein de Nous Nuire vous n'avez aucun sujet D'aprehender qu'il vous soit fait aucun tort Il fit signe a ses gens de poursuiure leur chemin, et Nous, nous suismes le bord de l'eau pour aller au fort ou je receus de luy toutes les honnestetez et les Ciuiletez que l'on peut faire a une personne. Il fut bien aise d'apprendre les Nouuelles de la France et de Londres il y auoit un an que son vaisseau estoit party il l'attendoit de jour en jour,¹⁰ et mesme commençoit a tarder, il aprehendoit qu'il n'eust été arrêté des glaces dans le detroit,¹¹ tout le reste du jour se passa a parler de [*verso*] toutes sortes d'affaires et il me dit Qu'ils auoient un Nauire de douze pieces de Canon pour garder les Costes, qui paroissoit a L'Ancre a une pointe au large, qu'il auoit perdu le printemps une barque de 40 tonneaux par les glaces qui descendant des terres auoient écrasé le bastiment, quil en auoit encore une de mesme grandeur,

¹⁰ A ship, the *John and Alexander*, arrived shortly after the departure of Jolliet, Bayly returned on it to England, and died in London on January 16, 1680 (N. S.).

¹¹ According to Jérémie, Hudson Strait was free of ice from July 15 to October 15, "Relation du détroit et de la Baye de Hudson," in J. F. Bernard, *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1732, III, 306.

et une autre de 15 tonneaux avec trois batteaux Que tousces bastimens estoient pour aller en traite a toutes les Riuieres de la Baye ou les sauuaiges apportent leurs Castors, qu'ils auoient trois forts assez éloignez les uns des autres, et qu'ils se prepaioient pour trauailler le printemps a un quatrieme¹² sauancant toujours de plus en plus vers L'Ouest aux embouchures des Riuieres qui viennent proche du Lac Superieur ou sont les Nations qui ont accoustumé de commercer avec Nous et qu'ils estoient en tout soixante hommes.¹³

A L'Esgard du Castor, il me confirma ce que j'auois appris des sauuaiges, qu'il en faisoit tant qu'il vouloit et sur tout depuis un an qu'il s'etoit auancé a ces autres Riuieres, Il m'ajousta qu'il y auoit encore quelque chose de meilleur, qui rendroit Cet établissement plus considerable a laduenir sans m'expliquer ce que ce pouuoit estre.

Il me demanda si je voulois me joindre a luy et [*recto*] moffrit dix mil francs une fois païées et mil liures de pension par an pour ce sujet, Je le remerciay luy disant que j'estois né sujet du Roy de France et que je ferois Gloire toute ma vie de le seruir [*N^e in the margin*] avec fidelité C'estoit pour faire un établissement aux assinibouels, et decouurir plus loin qui sont des Nations que Monseigneur le Comte a fait venir depuis quatre ans. Il leur a enuoié cette année un present pour les attirer a luy et lier commerce avec Eux, Leur pais est le lieu seul des beaux Castors, et autres menues pelteries. Il ny a point de doute si on les laisse dans cette Baye qu'ils ne se rendent Maistres de tout le commerce du Canada deuant six [dix?] ans,¹⁴ quelque uns de ceux qui venoient a Montreal y ont été cette année, et y doiuent

¹² Besides the three English trading posts mentioned above, a fourth is indicated near the mouth of the "R. panachitchioüen" on the maps of 1679 and 1684.

¹³ "Towards Hudson Bay, . . . the English have some forts for the trading only, in which, as we are informed there are sixty men . . ." Duchesneau to Colbert, November 14, 1679, *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, I, 271; translation in NYCD, IX, 137-138. Duchesneau's source of information was Jolliet, for this letter was written three weeks after the latter's return to Quebec.

¹⁴ The same fear is expressed by Duchesneau in the letter just quoted. Two years later, the intendant wrote: "They [English] are still in the north, in Hudson Bay, and do great damage to our fur trade. The revenue contractors feel it. The returns of their "traite de Tadoussac" as well as those of the whole colony have fallen off, because the English entice the Ottawa to bring them their pelts. They do this damage by means of two forts, one towards Tadoussac [*i. e.*, the fort on the Rupert River], the other at Cape Henrietta Maria [Port Nelson], towards the Assinibouetz [Assiniboin]" ; Duchesneau to Seignelay, November 13, 1681, *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, I, 286.

retourner ce printemps Ce sont les Timiscamings,¹⁵ et la bande de Routin tout le monde scait que les Outaouacs ne font point de Castor, mais le vont querir aux Nations de la Baye des Puants, ou a celles D'alentour du Lac Superieur, et par consequent il est a croire que ces dernieres se voiant tout proche des Anglois bien Establis et fournis de Marchandises, leurs Garderont leurs peleries comme plusieurs ont Desja commencé.

Lorsqu'il plaira a sa Majesté de vouloir faire sortir les Anglois de cette baye pour estre Maistre de tout le pais et Commerce des Castors, il sera [verso] Facile d'en donner les moiens, et de les mettre en Execution.¹⁶ Les forts n'ont a present que le nom de Fort. Ce sont de petits quarrez de pieux, qui renferment leurs maisons. Ils se batissent pour resister au froid, et non pas aux armes de ceux qui pouroient les attaquer par terre, dont ils ne se mefient nullement, croiant N'auoir a se fortifier que du Costé De la Mer, en gardant dans la Baye un Nauire et plusieurs barques de 30 et 40 tonneaux capables de retourner a Londres mais il sera facile quand il plaira a Sa Ma^{te} l'ordonner de les empescher de s'establir plus Loin sans les chasser ny sans rompre avec eux.¹⁷ Après auoir esté deux jours avec luy, et auoir appris tout ce que je voulois scauoir je rembarquay dans mon Canot aiant pour viures un sac de Gallettes et un sac de farine qu'il me donna, me faisant mil excuses de ne pouuoir pas me donner autre chose, et je repris mon Chemin pour Quebec ou jarriuy le 25^e octobre 1679.

L Jolliet

¹⁵ The Temiscaming, a band of Algonkin, living about Timiskaming Lake, Quebec. The route from their habitat to the mouth of the Moose River was just as easy, and shorter than the route to Montreal; moreover, the English paid them two, three, and even four times more for their pelts than the French did.

¹⁶ The task was to be much more difficult than Jolliet thought. It took ten years and the daring and brilliance of Iberville to expell the English from Hudson Bay, cf. Frégault, *Iberville le Conquérant*, 89-127, 177-191, 236-263. In 1713, Louis XIV returned the bay to the English.

¹⁷ "The only means to prevent [the English] from succeeding in that which is so prejudicial to our trade would be to drive them out by armed force from that bay which belongs to us; or else, if this extreme measure is inadvisable, to build forts on the rivers leading into the lakes in order to stop the Indians at these points," Duchesneau to Seignelay, November 13, 1681, *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, I, 286-287.

Book Reviews

New Viewpoints in Georgia History. By Albert B. Saye. The University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1943. Pp. 256.

East Florida as a British Province 1763-1784. By Charles Loch Mowat. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943. Pp. 237.

Dr. Saye has attempted a review of Georgia history in the light of contemporary scholarship, and he has, on the whole, succeeded in his task. He has come upon certain revisions of older interpretations which are interesting but scarcely revolutionary. They pertain mostly to the founding of the colony. Dr. Saye maintains, first, that those most actively engaged in founding the colony were members of Parliament interested in Imperial affairs as well as in philanthropy; second, that the release of debtors was only one among many of the colonizing schemes hit upon by the sponsors of the colony, and the charitable aspect of the colony was soon expanded to include not only the poor and unemployed of England, but also persecuted Protestants in foreign states; and third, that only a handful of debtors were ever released from English jails and sent to Georgia (a dozen, says Dr. Saye, would be a fair estimate); lastly, that the British government was interested primarily in the colony as a frontier defense project, and sponsored it in spite of, rather than because of, its charitable aspect.

Dr. Saye devotes a chapter apiece to the study of the genesis of Georgia, the execution of the trust, Georgia as a model royal colony, Georgia during the Revolution, the early state government of Georgia, and Georgia in the Federal Union. Throughout the later chapters he has provided a nice synthesis of recent studies in Georgia history.

Dr. Mowat in his study of Florida as a British province during the twenty-one years 1763-1784 has, unlike Dr. Saye, had the enviable experience of working in an almost virgin field. Dr. Mowat has done a painstaking, thorough, competent, and timely study of this neglected British colony. He has carefully consulted the principal bodies of documentary material, such as those in the British Public Record Office, and in the Clements Library at Ann Arbor, and has taken from them any material which is of interest to the history of East Florida as a British colony. In some places throughout his text Dr. Mowat virtually paraphrases the original documents. His study is a storehouse of information concerning the colony, and future students of colonial history will be grateful to him for it. Appended to tables of trade and shipping related to the colony, lists of Acts of the Assembly, and of

government officials, are useful. The footnotes are listed chapter by chapter at the end of the study, and comprise a virtual calendar of the documents relating to the subject. Concluding the volume, Dr. Mowat has presented an excellent bibliographical essay on the subject.

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(Other reviews and "Notes and Comment" are omitted from this number to curtail paper usage.)

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The Voyages of Tonti in North America 1678-1704

INTRODUCTION

Three years ago, E. R. Murphy published a book entitled *Henry de Tonty Fur Trader of the Mississippi*, Baltimore, 1941. As the title indicates the emphasis is on Tonti's commercial activities. In the present article the emphasis is exclusively on Tonti's travels during his twenty-six years in North America, from the day when he landed at Quebec, September 15, 1678, to the day of his death at Fort Louis de la Louisiane [Mobile], September 4, 1704. In the calendar of his travels which forms the bulk of this article, only those dates and places have been entered for which there is valid, contemporary evidence; whenever the dates have to be inferences, this is indicated by the wording of the entry or by an explicit statement to that effect. With regard to places, we have, in general, accepted the identifications of local historians.

This article is merely intended to be as complete and accurate a record of his travels as could be compiled with the evidence available in the present circumstances. The maps illustrating the voyages of Tonti from year to year herein published were drawn by Father J. V. Jacobsen under the supervision of the author.

Most of us know, in a general way, that Tonti journeyed time and again from Quebec to the Illinois country, from the Illinois country to the Gulf, but few realize how extensive his travels were. And one's astonishment increases when one remembers that all these journeys were made on foot or by canoe, by a man who had lost one of his hands during the Sicilian campaign several years before coming to America. It may be

that other voyageurs of the period traveled as extensively or even more extensively than Tonti; if they did, they have left no records, and for all the difference it made to the world at large then, or to historians now, these travelers might just as well have remained in Montreal, in Quebec, or for that matter in Europe. When one considers the thousands of miles traveled by Tonti—roughly 35,000, 80 per cent of which in present-day United States—and his matter of fact reference to the extent of his travels, one cannot help recalling the grandiloquent manner with which Hennepin, who traveled with Tonti for six weeks, speaks of the several hundred miles journey on the Mississippi in 1680 as “our great voyage.”

Although to all intents and purposes Tonti had become a Frenchman at heart, he was a fellow countryman of those famous Italian travelers like Columbus, Verrazano, Cabot, Vespucci, and other explorers who distinguished themselves in the service of rulers of other countries. He differed from his countrymen by adoption in this respect: he never returned to Europe, but remained in America. Those who have consulted the official correspondence of Canada and Louisiana know how often French colonists, soldiers, officers, and officials returned to France under the slightest pretext. So much so that, on one occasion, Louis XIV rebuked Frontenac and Champigny for having permitted some of the best army officers to return to France, “seulement pour leur donner occasion de représenter leurs services.” Some returned again to the colony, but many did not. This abuse was deplored by governors and intendants who had at heart the development of Canada and Louisiana, but in spite of repeated orders from the government in Paris, the abuse persisted until the end of the French régime.

Notwithstanding his prominence in the history of exploration and colonization of the Mississippi Valley during a quarter of a century, Tonti “has never been accorded the place, independent from that of La Salle, which he deserves”; and another writer commented on this neglect by saying that “the glory of the master overshadowed him who was only second in command.” Tonti was and remained a lieutenant, even after the death of La Salle. “When the accomplishments of La Salle and Tonty are compared, it is Tonty who gains by the comparison. It is true that he seconded La Salle in all things, but while the latter conceived, Tonty achieved.” Is not this an indication that true superiority consists in conceiving rather than in achieving? It

is the difference between the architect and the mason; between the engineer and the mechanic. Unintentionally, this relation between captain and lieutenant is concretely illustrated today in Chicago, where there is a Tonty Room in the La Salle Hotel. Tonti was at his best when he was carrying out orders, not only of La Salle, but of Denonville, of Cadillac, of Iberville. When left to himself, his achievements are not very much different from those of many other voyageurs. Ultimately, this is perhaps the real reason why he has not been accorded the place to which his achievements seem to entitle him. He became, says one writer, "the most important fur trader in the Illinois country." History, however, is more concerned with leaders than with fur traders.

For all that pertains to Tonti's early life, we refer the reader to Murphy's *Henry de Tonty*. Aside from the scanty details here mentioned, we know practically nothing about these early years; even the place and the year of his birth are uncertain.

A few remarks may be made here with regard to the spelling of his name, the title of Chevalier, and his portrait.

I see no reason why the flourish after the "i" which ends his signature should be written "y." His was an Italian name. When French authors mention his compatriots who came to France with Catherine or Marie de Medici, the names are spelled with an "i" not with a "y"; for instance, Mancini, Concini, Conti; and English authors today do not write Garibaldi, Mazziny, or Mus-solini. When signing his name, Tonti sometimes used the particle "de" which was a sign of noble birth. But as we pointed out elsewhere, anyone could add "de" to his name, and many did so who were not members of the nobility. In most cases, it was merely a widespread fad among bourgeois and commoners eager to imitate in this respect genuine nobility. Some of these titles are just as authentic as that of the character in Racine's comedy, Monsieur de Petit Jean; thus, to mention only a few, Monsieur de McCarthy, Monsieur de Van der Heck, and Louis de Hennepin. Moreover, Tonti was never granted letters of nobility, and never asked for any; there is not one shred of evidence to support Shea's assertion that the members of "La Salle's force were ennobled by his discoveries."

Tonti was not a "chevalier" in any sense whatever, either by reason of the title of his father; or because he belonged to one of the ancient military orders. He was not even a "chevalier de Saint-Louis." True, he asked for the cross of St. Louis in 1700,

but he never received it. To the best of my knowledge, he was first called a knight in a copy of a letter of Denonville to La Forest, dated June 1686.

Finally, the various portraits, pictures, or sculptures purportedly representing Tonti's appearance are entirely products of imagination, as are the paintings, médaillons, and statues representing Cadillac, Iberville, La Salle, and Marquette; to say nothing of the recently reproduced "oil portrait of Father Hennepin, owned by the Minnesota Historical Society," even though there is a "tradition that it is a self-portrait."

TONTI'S WRITINGS

The most important evidence for Tonti's travels consists in his writings, nearly all of which have come down in copy form. The more significant documents are listed below.

1) A letter dated Michilimackinac, July 23, 1682, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 1016:165v-168v; the French text and an English translation will be found in M. A. Habig, *The Franciscan Pere Marquette. A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O. F. M. La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion 1645(ca.)-1689*, New York, 1934, 215-229.

2) A memoir dated Quebec, November 14, 1684, of which at the outbreak of the war there were two copies in BN, Clairambault, 1016:220-266, and 267-279. It is printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, I, 573-616, referred to hereinafter as I Tonti, Margry. The French text was reprinted from Margry with parallel English translation by M. B. Anderson, under the title *Relation of Henry de Tonty Concerning the Explorations of La Salle from 1678 to 1683*, Chicago, 1898.

I am unable to say which of the two copies Margry printed, or how faithfully he reproduced the text, for when I wished to obtain photographs of the manuscripts, it was impossible to communicate with Paris.

3) The procès-verbal drawn near the mouth of the Mississippi, April 13, 1686, in the Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 67-2: no. 1; printed in Margry, III, 554-558. For further bibliographical details, see *infra*, February 16, 1686.

4) An autograph letter addressed to Seignelay dated Montreal August 24, 1686, ASH, 67-2: no. 1; printed in H. Harris, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, 171-172; and in Margry, III, 553-554.

5) The copy of a letter addressed to Villermont dated Montreal,

August 25, 1686, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:132-133; printed in Margry, III, 559-562. Another copy, in the handwriting of Claude Bernou, but lacking the final paragraph, is in BN, Clairambault, 1016:286-286v.

6) Two copies containing an account of his travels from 1678 to 1690. One copy is in the Archives des Colonies (AC), C 13C, 3:128-141v, a photograph of which cannot be obtained for the same reasons as noted above; the other copy is in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:103-118, formerly *Renaudot 30*, of which I have a transcript. Peculiarly enough, the AC copy was first published in English by Thomas Falconer, *On the Discovery of the Mississippi*, London, 1844, 47-96; and was reprinted by B. F. French in his *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, New York, 1846, 52-78. It was published for the first time in the original French by P. Margry, *Relations et mémoires inédits*, Paris, 1867, 5-36. The Falconer translation was again re-issued—through the B. F. French reprint—in the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, I, 1903, 128-164, and again by I. J. Cox in *The Journeys of René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle*, 2 volumes, New York, 1905, I, 1-58. Finally, L. P. Kellogg reprinted the memoir “with many textual corrections” from the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library in *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 283-318. Throughout the present article we shall refer to this last issue as follows: II Tonti, Kellogg.

This second narrative of his travels was written in the winter of 1690-1691, for besides the fact that the last event mentioned is Tonti's return to the Illinois country from the Southwest in September 1690, there are other indications that it was written at this time. Thus, when Tonti was writing this memoir, he had not yet learned that all the rights to the Illinois country granted by the king to La Salle had been transferred to him and to his partner La Forest; we know, besides that he heard this good news at Michilimackinac in the summer of 1691. Secondly, after learning that he had succeeded to La Salle's trade rights in the Illinois country, he decided to move Fort St. Louis from Starved Rock to Peoria, which was done in the winter of 1691-1692. Neither this migration nor the building of the fort are mentioned in the second memoir.

Not having seen the manuscript used by Falconer and Margry, I cannot say whether the words in the title, “sent in 1693,” or the title itself was added later on by the editors or by a clerk in Paris, or whether it was in the official copy originally sent to the minister of the colonies. One thing is certain: the Renaudot copy has no title. W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, I, Libraries, Washington, D. C., 1932, 97, lists the Renaudot copy thus: “This document is also in Arch. Colonies, C 13, c, vol. 3, ff. 128-141v, where it is accompanied by the copy of a letter from Tonty of Sept. 12, 1693.” This is not quite correct. The letter here spoken of, printed in T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, eds.,

The French Foundations 1680-1693, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XXIII, Springfield, Illinois, 1934, 276-279, is not dated. The words of the endorsement, "avec la lettre du Sr. Tonti du 12^{bre} 1693," appear to be a direction for filing; namely, that this letter and the memoir which accompanied it were to be filed with II Tonti and with the letter of September 12, 1693. Although Leland does not say so, the document immediately following the Renaudot copy of II Tonti, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:119-120, is a duplicate of AC, C 13C, 3:142-143, and is also signed by Tonti. There is no letter of Tonti dated September 12, 1693 in AC, but in BN, among the Villermont papers, there are two Tonti letters. The first, BN, Mss. fr., 22803:285-285v, is dated Montreal September 2, 1693, printed in Margry, IV, 3-5, under date of September 11, 1694; the second, *ibid.*, folio 290, dated Montreal September 12, 1693, is a brief note in which Tonti notifies Villermont that since he must leave Montreal hurriedly, his brother's brother-in-law who is about to leave for France will give Villermont the news. In view of its contents, it seems unlikely that this second letter is the one referred to in the above-mentioned endorsement, but that it refers to a letter, now lost, which was addressed to Pontchartrain and dated September 2, like the letter written to Villermont. The contents of this lost letter may be judged from what he says in the letter to Villermont about the vicissitudes of the memoir of 1691:

"Last year, I had the honor of writing to you, and I also sent to M. l'abbé Renaudot a relation of my voyages to the Gulf of Mexico. The abbé must have handed a copy of this relation to M. de Pontchartrain and one to yourself, in order to inform the minister as well as you, Sir, of what he wished to know."

According to this, Tonti wrote to Villermont "last year," *i. e.*, in 1692, but it is not clear whether the relation sent to Renaudot and now among the latter's papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale was sent in 1691 or 1692, for Tonti says "j'avois envoyé une relation," implying that it had been sent previously, if not to France at least to Quebec. Again, it is not clear from the wording whether Renaudot himself was to have two copies made, one for Pontchartrain and one for Villermont, or whether Tonti had three copies made in America. If Villermont ever received a copy of II Tonti, it has not come to light. The fact that the second copy of II Tonti is found today in the Archives des Colonies, makes it almost certain that it is the one which was sent to Pontchartrain. Whether the signature is Tonti's autograph cannot now be determined, because access to the document is impossible at present.

As is well known, II Tonti was used by a literary jobber as a basis for the *Dernieres decouvertes dans L'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale; Mises au jour par M. le Chevalier de Tonti gouverneur du Fort Saint Louis aux Islinois*, Paris, 1697. What judgment was passed

upon this book by Joutel and by later writers may be seen in J. Delanglez, ed., *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 20-24.

7) A petition addressed to Pontchartrain in which Tonti recalls his services and gives an abridged account of his voyages to date, AC, C 13C, 3:145-145v; printed in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 79-81. This petition was sent in 1692 as can be seen from the postscript dated October 10, 1692, to Frontenac's letter to Pontchartrain, in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1927-1928* (RAPQ), 122, and from the summary of various letters sent from Canada and Acadia in 1692, in AC, C 11A, 12:332.

8) The letter already mentioned, AC, C 13C, 3:142-143v, containing a description of the Mississippi Valley. It is followed by a list of supplies asked for by Tonti in order to complete La Salle's discovery. The document was accompanied by a map which is now lost. A translation of the letter is in French, *op. cit.*, 82-83; the letter and the list of supplies are printed in the original and in translation by Pease and Werner, *op. cit.*, 276-282. As we said above, a duplicate of the whole document is in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:119-120.

As can be seen from what Tonti wrote to Villermont in his letter of September 2, 1693, the letter, the list of supplies, and the map were also sent in 1692:

"I had charged M. de Vaudreuil to look after my interests, but he was busy with family affairs, and consequently did not show you the memoirs I had entrusted to him wherein were listed all the necessary things for which I was asking the Court in order to complete the discovery of M. de la Salle. I beg of you, Sir, to allow M. de la Mollerie [the brother-in-law of his brother Alphonse who was going to France] lieutenant of the troops in this colony to present these memoirs to you."

The Vaudreuil spoken of is Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who succeeded Callières as governor general of Canada. This officer went to France in the autumn of 1692; cf. P.-G. Roy, *La famille de Rigaud de Vaudreuil*, Lévis, 1938, 29. We do not know whether Vaudreuil showed the "memoirs," i. e., the letter and the list of supplies Tonti was asking for, to Villermont, but it is certain that he handed them to Renaudot and to Pontchartrain in 1693, for today they are filed immediately after II Tonti, both in AC and in BN. During La Mollerie's sojourn in Paris, in 1694, he tried several times to see Villermont but was unsuccessful; he seems to have brought back the memoirs to Canada; cf. A. Tonti to Villermont, September 19, 1694, BN, Mss. fr., 22804:309.

There are no Tonti extant writings describing his travels between 1690 and 1698; for his voyage from Michilimackinac to the mouth of the Arkansas River, 1698-1699, recourse must be had to the letter of M. de St. Cosme.

9) Two letters to his brother in France dated February 28 and

March 4, 1700, respectively; an extract from the first and a copy of the second by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 14; both printed in translation in MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 215-235.

10) Two letters addressed to Iberville, dated February 23 and March 14, 1702, respectively, in which he narrates his voyage to the Choctaw and the Chickasaw countries; extracts by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 20.

To compile this calendar of Tonti's travels, the above fundamental evidence was supplemented by the writings of Tonti's contemporaries. Since the value of most of this evidence is at once apparent, no discussion of it is necessary. A few words, however, should be said about the evidential value of La Salle's letters, of Hennepin's and Le Clercq's books.

For the years 1678-1681, we have the letters of La Salle. As I noted elsewhere, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, Chicago, 1941, 56, these letters, with one exception, have come down to us mutilated, but what was contained in the missing parts is available in another form in Bernou's *Relation des découvertes*, printed in Margry, I, 429-544. Since in his *Description de la Louisiane* Hennepin obviously plagiarized Bernou's *Relation*, his testimony does not in any way corroborate the data regarding time and places in all that pertains to the events that took place in the six weeks during which Hennepin traveled with Tonti.

The third contemporary source is the book entitled *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1691. I have said elsewhere that this work as well as Hennepin's later books, and the *Histoire chronologique* attributed to Sixte Le Tac, teem with fabrications. (*Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 260.) Commenting on this judgment, Father Godbout, *Culture*, II, 1941, 103, wrote: "Ce qui n'empêchera pas le P. Delanglez d'en appeler au témoignage de ces écrivains pour étayer ses thèses." Of course I appealed to the testimony of these writers because I do not believe in that crude historical criticism according to which documents are divided into "good" and "bad" documents, and thereafter a good document is accepted *in toto*, while a bad one is wholly rejected; as though there could be no true statement in a "bad" document, and as though when one has established the truth of some particular statement, one must reject it because it is found in the midst of patently false assertions. Father Godbout gives three instances of my appeal to the testimony of Le Clercq, Hennepin, and Le Tac. The first has to do with Le Clercq's *Relation de la Gaspésie* which I never criticized as unreliable. The second refers to Hennepin's *New Discovery*, whose testimony I accepted in this case because it is supported by independent evidence, and I made it a point to say that this was my reason for accepting it. The third appeal to the "testimony of these writers" is nonexistent,

for Father Godbout's reference is to a page in the bibliography where there is not a word about any of the three.

For all that pertains to La Salle's and Tonti's travels; namely, what is contained in chapters XX to XXV inclusive, Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, J. G. Shea, ed. and transl., 2 volumes, New York, 1881, II, 82-283, is not a primary source at all. It is a compilation concocted in Paris by some individual who never came to America, but who had access to still extant narratives of these voyages. On studying these narratives, we see that he edited, garbled, and doctored them and in order to give an air of veracity to his production, attributed it to two Recollect missionaries, Fathers Membré and Douay. These priests were actually in America with La Salle and Tonti, but cannot in any sense be considered the authors of what we read about La Salle's and Tonti's voyages in the *First Establishment of the Faith*.

I reached this conclusion after analyzing the contents of the above-mentioned two hundred pages of Le Clercq's book, and after ascertaining what were the sources used by the compiler. To ask for some reliable extrinsic source—presumably a contemporary source—in support of this conclusion is as childish as to ask a forger to preface his handiwork with a confession of forgery. Of course, those who accept all documents that come their way, no matter from what quarters, as if they feared to lose a single one; those who are loath to discard a document to which they may be attached for sentimental reasons; those who resent the fact that documentary evidence on which they have relied is shown to be no evidence at all; and finally, those who know little or nothing about the matter; all of these will dismiss as "unconvincing" any proof from intrinsic criticism no matter how cogent it may be. Like the Abbé Vertot, "leur siège est fait."

1678

September 15.—Tonti arrives at Quebec on the *Saint-Honoré*.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 286. September 13 is given in I Tonti, Margry, I, 574. The later date was chosen because a document entitled "Memoire sur la conduite du Sr. de la Salle," AC, F 3, 2:58, dated November 11, 1680, printed in Margry, II, 31, also has September 15. Bernou's Relation, Margry, I, 438, has "[La Salle] arriva à la fin de Septembre à Québec"; erroneously translated "the last of September" by Anderson, p. 15, a mistake repeated by Miss Cross in her translation of Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane*, p. 15. This passage is copied from Bernou. La Salle "arrived in Canada toward the close of September 1678, with the Sieur de Tonty, an Italian gentleman, full of spirit and resolution, who afterward so courageously and faithfully, seconded him in all his designs." Le Clercq, II, 108.

November 10.—Tonti leaves Quebec with La Salle for Montreal.

November 21.—They arrive at Montreal.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 574.

November 26.—Departure for Fort Frontenac [Kingston, Ontario].

Ibid., 575.

December 16.—Arrival at Fort Frontenac.

Ibid. Bernou is vague: "[La Salle] s'y [Fort Frontenac] rendit luy mesme sitost qu'il eut achevé ses affaires"; *ibid.*, 438-439. Le Clercq, II, 109, gives the date of their arrival at the fort as November 18, which is the day when Hennepin says he left it for Niagara, *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683, 20.

December 24.—Tonti leaves Fort Frontenac with La Salle for Niagara.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 575. There is an error with regard to the length of time they remained at Fort Frontenac in II Tonti, Kellogg, 287. Lamotte and Hennepin had left long before this date, cf. the preceding entry and Lamotte's letter in Margry, II, 8. Tonti did not leave Fort Frontenac "at the beginning of the following year, 1679," as is said in Bernou's Relation, Margry, I, 440.

December 25.—The party lands at the mouth of the Genesee River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576; II Tonti, Kellogg, 287. After going to a near-by Seneca village, they resumed their journey on Lake Ontario to Thirty Mile Point.

December 26.—Arrival at the mouth of the Niagara River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576. From Thirty Mile Point they went on foot to the mouth of the Niagara River "no doubt walking for the most part along the edge of the high bank." F. H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France: The Niagara Region and Adjacent Lakes under French Control*, 2 volumes, New York, 1917, I, 39.

1679

January 30.—Tonti is called to the shipyard of the *Griffon* to take command during La Salle's absence.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 577. Cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 287. The *Griffon* was built near the mouth of Cayuga Creek, *The Historical Writings of the late Orsamus H. Marshall*, Albany, 1887, 88-94.

February 1.—Tonti goes back with La Salle to the mouth of the Niagara River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 577. It was on this occasion that La Salle "traced at the outlet of the river a fort which he named Conty." See Bernou's interpretation of this "tracing," *ibid.*, 442.

After February 1.—Returning to Cayuga Creek, Tonti visited the Niagara Falls.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 577.

July 22.—Tonti with five men leaves the Niagara River for the Strait between Lake Huron and Lake Erie.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 578-579. This journey was made by canoe along the north shore of Lake Erie.

August 9.—Arrival at the Strait.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579. From the text one cannot determine whether they waited for the *Griffon* near Amherstburg, Essex County, Ontario, or farther north. Tonti specifically states that they arrived at the Strait August 10, and that the *Griffon* was sighted early the following morning. On the other hand, Bernou says that the ship reached the entrance of the Strait, August 10, feast of St. Lawrence; this is repeated by Le Clercq, II, 114. We also know the day when they sailed across Lake St. Clair. This widening of the strait was thus named by the Recollects on board the *Griffon*, Bernou in Margry, I, 446, in honor of this Franciscan saint, Sainte Claire, because they crossed it on her feast day, August 12. As Hennepin quaintly puts it: "Que nous nomâmes le Lac Sainte Claire à cause du jour de cette Sainte que nous traversâmes." *Description de la Louisiane*, 51.

August 27.—The *Griffon* casts anchor at Michilimackinac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589. The same date is found in Bernou, *ibid.*, 448, and in Le Clercq, II, 114. "At the end of August," II Tonti, Kellogg, 288.

August 29.—Tonti is sent to Sault Ste. Marie by La Salle.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579. No date is given by Bernou, *ibid.*, 449, nor in II Tonti, Kellogg, 288.

September 17.—He arrives at Michilimackinac from Sault Ste. Marie.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579. Bernou is in error when he writes that Tonti did not return to Michilimackinac until November, *ibid.*, 450; later in his Relation, the abbé gives November 20, *ibid.*, 461, as the date of his arrival at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

October 5.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac for the mouth of the St. Joseph River with the deserters he had rounded up at Sault Ste. Marie.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 580. "Tonti . . . came down the eastern shore

of the lake," Kellogg, 288, note 3. That he followed this route is implied in a passage of Bernou's Relation: "[La Salle] was surprised to find no one there [at the mouth of the St. Joseph River] for the Sieur de Tonti's route was much shorter." Margry, I, 459.

November 12.—Arrival at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. I Tonti, Margry, I, 580. Bernou, *ibid.*, 461, has November 20.

December 3.—The expedition begins the ascent of the St. Joseph River.

Bernou's Relation, Margry, I, 461. The same date is given by Le Clercq, II, 117.

After December 6.—Finding of the portage between the St. Joseph River and the headwaters of the Kankakee.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 581. December 6 seems to be the day when they arrived at present-day South Bend and began to search for the portage which they had learned was in the vicinity. In "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 293, I erroneously stated that the expedition arrived at the headwaters of the St. Joseph River on December 6.

December 15.—The expedition begins the descent of the Kankakee River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 582. It is not clear whether Tonti means that they began the descent on this day or whether December 15 is the date when some of La Salle's men planned to desert him. The first alternative seems more probable in view of the day of arrival at the great Illinois village.

1680

January 1.—Arrival at the great Illinois village which was situated on the Illinois River between present-day Utica and Ottawa.

La Salle's autograph letter of *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 36. December 31, 1679, is the date in I Tonti, Margry, I, 582. With regard to events which took place while La Salle and Tonti were together, the former's letters—when available—are more reliable than Tonti's memoir written four years after the events. Le Clercq, II, 117, says "toward the close of December."

January 5.—The expedition arrives at Lake Peoria.

La Salle's letter of *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 37. January 3, 1679, according to II Tonti, Kellogg, 289, the year is corrected by the editor. From the text of I Tonti, Margry, I, 583, it is not clear whether he means that they arrived on January 4, at the spot where Fort Crèvecoeur was to be built, or whether they met Illinois Indians on this day.

March 1.—Tonti in command of Fort Crèvecoeur.

Margry, II, 55, 117. For the dates in I Tonti and II Tonti, cf. "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 295.

Beginning of April.—Tonti goes to Starved Rock, on receiving an order from La Salle to build a fort there.

The date is an inference. "[La Salle] sent me an order to go up [from Fort Crèvecoeur] to the village of the Illinois to build a fort on an eminence half a league from the village. I set out for that purpose . . ." I Tonti, Margry, I, 583-584. La Salle met two of his men at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, March 24. La Salle's autograph letter of *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 59. "These two men were sent to me with orders to go to the old village to visit a rock and to build a fort upon it. While I was absent all my men deserted." II Tonti, Kellogg, 290. See the following entry.

April 15.—Tonti leaves Fort Crèvecoeur with Fathers Membré and de la Ribourde and three Frenchmen, en route to the Illinois village near Starved Rock.

La Salle's letter of the autumn of 1681. We are giving below the passage of this letter as it is found in BN, Clairambault, 1016:58; Margry, II, 133, left out the words in brackets. On his way down the Illinois River, in December 1680, La Salle came upon the damage done by the deserters at Fort Crèvecoeur; here he found "un bordage ou nous vismes ces mots escrits Nous sommes tous sauvages ce 15 a [la le bordage estoit coupé] Je creus que le parisien de qui je reconneus l'écriture avoit escrit ces mots a la haste le 15 d'aoust qui estoit environ le temps que je jugeois que les ilinois avoient fuy au moins les anciens et quil emmenioient les françois . . . [M. de Tonty y avoit fait écrire ces mots quand il fut obligé d'aller au village des ilinois pour servir de marque a Michel Ako qui devoit venir des Sciou quil estoit avec les ilinois cela estoit escrit du 15 avril quelques jours aprez la desertion mais cõe il ne paroissoit que l'A je crus que c'estoit aoust.]" This agrees with what we read in I Tonti: "Comme il [La Salle] m'avoit promis d'estre de retour à la fin de May, nous tachasmes [in the Illinois village] de couler le temps le mieux qu'il nous fut possible." Margry, I, 584.

September 12.—Tonti is wounded by an Iroquois Indian near the Illinois village.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 586. The chronological sequence in I Tonti is to be preferred to the few dates given by La Salle in his account, Margry, II, 121 ff., because La Salle was not there at the time. There is a mistake of transcription in II Tonti, Kellogg, 293, "The eighth day after their [Iroquois] arrival, on the 10th of September, they called me and Father Zénoble [Membré] to council." This took place

September 19, I Tonti, Margry, I, 588. Compare the narrative of the whole episode in the two Tonti memoirs and in La Salle's letter with that of Le Clercq, II, 140-144.

September 20.—Tonti accompanied by Fathers Membré and de la Ribourde and three other Frenchmen leaves the Illinois village for the north.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 588. Le Clercq, II, 145, has September 18. The strength of the party is specified by La Salle, Margry, II, 124.

September 21.—Five leagues from the Illinois village Father de la Ribourde is killed by Kickapoo Indians.

The date is specified in I Tonti, Margry, I, 588; the distance from the Illinois village in II Tonti, Kellogg, 294. Le Clercq, II, 145, says eight leagues. It was only learned later that the missionary had been killed by Kickapoo Indians. Cf. the Bernou variant, Margry, I, 511, of La Salle's autograph letter of the autumn 1681, Margry, II, 124.

September 22.—The party resumes the journey northward.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 588. They waited until noon, II Tonti, Kellogg, 294; La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 125, and, of course, in Bernou's Relation, Margry, I, 511. See the Le Clercq version, II, 145-148.

First part of October.—Tonti and his companions reach Chicago.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589. The date is deduced from what is said in II Tonti, Kellogg, 294. After the disappearance of Father de la Ribourde, they proceeded "by short journeys." Their route was the same as that of Jolliet and Marquette seven years earlier; namely, up the Illinois River and the Des Plaines to the Chicago portage. Cf. La Salle's letter of the autumn of 1681, Margry, II, 125.

October 31.—Their canoe is wrecked by a storm.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589.

November 1.—Leaving Boisrondel on the shore of Lake Michigan, Tonti with Father Membré and the two Frenchmen starts on foot for a Potawatomi village, twenty leagues away.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589; II Tonti, Kellogg, 294.

November 11.—Arrival at the Potawatomi village which they found deserted.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589-590; II Tonti, Kellogg, 294. St. Martin's Day is November 11, not November 14.

December 4.—Somewhere on the east shore of Green Bay they find Potawatomi wintering quarters.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 591; and cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 295-296. It is

difficult to follow their wanderings after they began their inland journey. One thing is certain: they portaged from Lake Michigan to Green Bay at Sturgeon Bay. Tonti remained with the Indians of this village, while Father Membré went to the St. Francis Xavier mission, which was situated near De Pere, Wisconsin.

1681

Latter part of May.—Tonti leaves the Potawatomi village for Michilimackinac.

Both I Tonti, Margry, I, 592, and II Tonti, Kellogg, 296, have "in the spring"; the less general date of this entry is deduced from the day of his arrival at Michilimackinac.

June 4.—Arrival at Michilimackinac.

"I arrived at Missilimakinak the eve of Corpus Christi [June 5]." I Tonti, Margry, I, 592. "We reached Missilimakinak about Corpus Christi in 1680 [*i. e.*, 1681]." II Tonti, Kellogg, 296. "About the middle of June," Le Clercq, II, 151.

After June 6.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac with La Salle for Fort Frontenac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593; II Tonti, Kellogg, 296.

Latter part of June.—Tonti and three other men remain "on a small Island of Lake Simcoe."

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593.

In July or August.—Tonti goes to Teïoïagon, an Indian village which was situated west of present-day Toronto.

According to II Tonti, Kellogg, 296, he went directly to this village; but in I Tonti, preceding entry, he clearly states that La Salle left him on a small island of Lake Simcoe. The fact that he proceeded later to Lake Ontario is implied in his first memoir: "M'ayant envoyé dans le brigantin ce qu'il [La Salle] avoit pu trouver au fort [Frontenac]. . . ." I Tonti, Margry, I, 593. Teïoïagon was located at the mouth of the Humber River, cf. P. J. Robinson, *Toronto during the French Régime, A History of the Toronto Region from Brûlé to Simcoe, 1615-1793*, Toronto and Chicago, 1933, 29 ff.

August.—Tonti receives an order from La Salle to proceed to the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593.

September 19.—Tonti at Michilimackinac.

Duchesneau's memorial of November 13, 1681, in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), Albany, 1855, IX, 164. An extract from this memoir is published in Margry, II, 266-274, the pertinent passage p. 272.

October 15.—Tonti arrives at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

In the summary of Father Membré's letter, Margry, II, 203, this missionary is said to have arrived "aux Miamis" on this day. October 15 was chosen in preference to November 10, I Tonti, Margry, I, 593—no date is given in II Tonti, Kellogg, 296—because we know that La Salle was at Michilimackinac in the first part of October, when Tonti had already gone. He very probably left at the end of September and came down the east shore of Lake Michigan.

December 21.—Tonti and most of the men assembled by La Salle for the expedition to the Gulf, go by canoe, along the south shore of Lake Michigan, from the mouth of the St. Joseph River to Chicago.

Tonti's letter dated Michilimackinac, July 23, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:165v; Habig, *The Franciscan Pere Marquette*, 215. This information is repeated in Bernou's so-called *Relation officielle*, cf. "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 28. December 21 is also found in I Tonti, Margry, I, 593. "We went in canoes to the River Chicaou where there is a portage which joins that of the Islinois." II Tonti, Kellogg, 296.

December 27.—The expedition arrives at the mouth of the Chicago River.

Tonti's letter in Habig, 215.

1682

January 6.—One day's journey from the Chicago portage, on the Des Plaines River, Tonti is joined by La Salle.

La Salle's autography fragment, Margry, II, 166. Tonti's letter, Habig, 215, has January 4; I Tonti, Margry, I, 593, January 14, the latter is probably a misprint.

NOTE. From January 6 to June 2, the progress of the expedition can be followed in "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels 1643-1683," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 300-303.

June 4.—Tonti with D'Autray, Brossard, Cauchois, Massé, and a Sokoki Indian, leaves Fort Prudhomme for the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 611. Although D'Autray is not mentioned here, he was one of the six men of the party, cf. *infra*, July 22. Father Membré begins his letter of June 3 as follows: "Le prompt départ de M. de Tonti [m'oste] les moyens de vous escrire amplement." Margry, II, 206.

June 10.—They reach the mouth of the Ohio.

This and the date of the next two entries are inferences.

June 12.—A day and a half's journey above the mouth of the Ohio they meet four Iroquois Indians.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 611; II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. The distance is given in Tonti's letter, Habig, 228.

June 16.—Meeting of a band of Tamaroa, Illinois, and Missouri Indians.

I Tonti, Margry, 611; Tonti's letter, Habig, 228. According to II Tonti, Kellogg, 304, this meeting occurred twenty leagues from the Tamaroa village.

June 20.—They leave the Tamaroa village where they had arrived two days earlier.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 612.

June 27.—They arrive at the Illinois village and find it abandoned.

Ibid.

End of June.—At Chicago.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. They traveled overland from the Illinois village to Chicago. I Tonti, Margry, I, 612.

First part of July.—Arrival at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 612. They went by canoe along the south shore of Lake Michigan.

July 22.—Tonti and two companions arrive at Michilimackinac.

"I reached Michilimackinac, July 22." I Tonti, Margry, I, 612. "We arrived . . . by the middle of July at Missilimakinak." II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. His letter from Michilimackinac is dated July 23. "Je laissay Cauchois, et le sr. D'autray a la riviere des Miamis et suis venu icy moy 3^e," which Habig, 229, translates as follows: "I left Cauchois and the Sieur Dautray at the river of the Miamis and have myself come here on the 3rd." He adds in a note: "No doubt, an error; the 23rd, the date of the letter is probably correct." The error is the translator's. Tonti does not say that he arrived at Michilimackinac on the 3rd, but rather that he arrived at the post with two companions, Brossard and Massé, he being the third man of the party. "Moi troisième," "moi quatrième," etc., are very common seventeenth-century expressions to indicate the number of men in a party. Their route was along the east shore of Lake Michigan. All these routes are indicated on the accompanying maps.

September.—Tonti is sent by La Salle to "build a fort at the portage of the River of the Illinois."

Tonti left after the arrival of La Salle who came to Michilimackinac in September. II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. The purpose of his journey is given in I Tonti, Margry, I, 612. The "portage of the River of the Illinois" is that near South Bend, Indiana, and not Crèvecoeur, as said by Nicolas de La Salle, Margry, I, 570.

October.—Finding no Indians at the portage, Tonti goes on to the Illinois country to spend the winter there.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 613. No "fort" was ever built at South Bend. When La Salle arrived at the portage in December and found no one there, he, too, went to the Illinois country, and built Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock during the first months of 1683.

1683

January-March.—Tonti with La Salle and other Frenchmen fortify Starved Rock.

"M. de la Salle . . . joined me December 30 [1682], and during the winter we built Fort St. Louis on an inaccessible rock." I Tonti, Margry, I, 613. The fort "was finished in March, 1683." II Tonti, Kellogg, 305. La Salle "had a fort built on a rock near the bank of the River of the Illinois, across from their village." Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 570.

April.—Tonti travels more than one hundred leagues to the winter quarters of the Illinois, and invites them to settle near Starved Rock.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 613. We do not know where the Illinois had their winter quarters that year. This voyage is thus referred to in the second memoir: "During the winter I gave all the nations notice of what we had done to defend them from the Iroquois [*i. e.*, the building of Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock]." II Tonti, Kellogg, 305.

May.—Tonti at Fort St. Louis.

La Salle to La Barre, June 4, 1683, Margry, II, 328.

After August 11.—Tonti in command at Fort St. Louis.

La Salle's last dated act at Fort St. Louis is that of August 11, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 28; he was at Chicago, September 1, *ibid.*, 36. In his first memoir, Tonti does not specify the date of La Salle's departure, "he departed during the month of August, 1683." I Tonti, Margry, I, 613. Considering the date of La Salle's Chicago letter, there is evidently an error in II Tonti, Kellogg, 305. "M. de la Salle departed for France in the month of September, leaving me in command of the fort."

Beginning of September.—Tonti is replaced as commandant by Baugy but remains at Fort St. Louis.

La Barre to Seignelay, June 5, 1684, AC, C 11A, 6:273; Ordonnance contre Cavalier de la Salle, in E. Serrigny, ed., *Journal d'une expédition contre les Iroquois en 1687*, Paris, 1883, 174-175; Baugy's letter to his brother, *ibid.*, 182; La Barre's order of July 20, 1684, *ibid.*, 186-187.

Besides I Tonti, Margry, I, 614, and II Tonti, Kellogg, 305, the following documents show that Tonti remained at Fort St. Louis until April 1684, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 45, 64; post-script to a letter of Baugy to La Durantaye, March 24, 1684, AC, C 11A, 6:519v.

1684

After May 23.—Tonti leaves Starved Rock for Montreal and Quebec.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 614. No date is given in II Tonti, Kellogg, 306, nor in his petition to Pontchartrain, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 79. We do not know whether on his way to Michilimackinac he passed through Chicago and then followed the west shore of Lake Michigan, or whether he went up the Kankakee on to the St. Joseph River and then along the east shore of the lake; nor do we know whether from Michilimackinac he took the Ottawa River route, or the Lake Simcoe route through Fort Frontenac and down to Montreal.

September 20-29.—Tonti at Quebec.

Pease and Werner, *op. cit.*, 53-54; *Journal d'une expédition contre les Iroquois*, 188-189.

October 14.—Tonti at Montreal.

Pease and Werner, *op. cit.*, 56; *Report concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905*, 3 volumes, Ottawa, 1906, I, lxii. "I had left for the said fort [St. Louis], but the way being blocked by the ice, I was forced to return." I Tonti, Margry, I, 614.

November 14.—Tonti at Quebec.

This is the dateline of I Tonti, Margry, I, 614. According to II Tonti Kellogg, 306, he spent the winter at Montreal. The letter of Callières to Seignelay, November 9, 1684, NYCD, IX, 249, does not give the date of his return to Montreal.

1685

Spring.—Tonti leaves Montreal for the Illinois country.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 306. We do not know whether he took the Ottawa River or the Lake Simcoe route to Michilimackinac, and whether he went from there through Chicago or through South Bend.

June 26.—Tonti at Starved Rock.

Remise du commandement du fort St. Louis par le chevalier de Baugy à Henry de Tonty, in *Journal d'une expédition contre les Iroquois en 1687*, 189-190. In II Tonti, Kellogg, 306, he simply says that he arrived in June.

Autumn.—Tonti leaves Fort St. Louis for Michilimackinac.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 306. Cf. Tonti to Villermont, Montreal, August 24, 1686, Margry, III, 560.

November 30.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac for Starved Rock. Having heard that La Salle was in the Gulf of Mexico, he set out to join him.

"I embarked, therefore, for the Islinois, on St. Andrew's Day, but, being stopped by the ice, I was obliged to leave my canoe and to proceed by land." II Tonti, Kellogg, 307. "La saison estoit tardive, ce qui m'obligea de quitter mon canot, à cause des glaces, pour retourner au fort et chercher par une autre route le sieur Rolan, qui me portoit la lettre de M. le Marquis [de Denonville]." Tonti to Villermont, August 24, 1686, Margry, III, 560. He may have gone down the west shore of Green Bay to De Pere, and thence to Chicago.

End of December.—Arrival at Chicago.

"After going 120 leagues, I arrived at the Fort of Chicacou, where M. de La Durantaye commanded." II Tonti, Kellogg, 307.

1686

January 15.—Tonti reaches Starved Rock.

"I arrived there January 15, 1686." Tonti to Villermont, August 24, 1686, Margry, III, 560. "Thence [Chicago] I came to Fort St. Louis, where I arrived in the middle of January." II Tonti, Kellogg, 307. This section of the second memoir is based on Tonti's letter to Villermont, which in turn summarizes several documents written on the occasion of his second voyage to the Gulf from February to June 1686, *infra*.

February 16.—Tonti with twenty-five Frenchmen and four Shawnee leaves Starved Rock for the Gulf.

Procès-verbal of April 13, 1686. The document, incompetently edited by Margry, II, 554-558, is in ASH, 67-2: no. 1, and was written by J. B. Nolan. Besides the latter signature, it bears that of Tonti and of eight of the members of the expedition, "Les autres cy Dessus nommez ont declarez ne scavoir signer." Two defective copies are in BN, Clairambault, 1016:281-285, and 287-287v, the latter is in Bernou's handwriting. An abridgment of ASH is in AE, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 5:442-444. Although the date of departure in ASH is February 13, February 16 is the correct date, for it is found in Tonti's autograph letter to Seignelay, dated Montreal, August 24,

1686, ASH, 67-2:no. 1; in II Tonti, Kellogg, 307; and in the two Clairambault copies. The day of the month is not given in Denonville's letter to Seignelay, November 8, 1686, NYCD, IX, 301; Tonti's petition to Pontchartrain, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 79, gives only the year. In his edition of Tonti's letter to Seignelay Harrisse, *Notes pour servir*, 171-172, twice questions the reading "Riuiet des Moines(?)," the text has "Riuiet des Mouila" and "Riuiet des mouilla"; that is, the river on which Movila stood at the time of the De Soto expedition, our Tombigbee River. Two other passages should be emended, "y liuoit" in the text is "y Li auoit," and "lauroit relaché" is "Jauroi relaché"; and the word "pamico" is "panuco." The reader may compare Harrisse's version thus corrected with Margry's publication of Tonti's letter.

February 27.—The expedition arrives at the winter quarters of the Illinois, situated, that year, eighty leagues below Starved Rock. Tonti hired five Illinois Indians to accompany him to the Gulf. The whole party now numbered thirty-five men.

Procès-verbal, ASH, 67-2:no. 1.

March 19.—The northernmost Arkansas village, named Kappa [Quapaw], was reached on this day.

Procès-verbal, *ibid.*, the day of the month is spelled out, "Le dix neufiesme." The two Clairambault copies have March 17.

After March 19.—They visited two other Arkansas villages on the Mississippi situated below that of the Quapaw.

"Le village appelé . . . [*sic*, this was the Tongigua village] qui est a sept Lieux au dessous limita et le village des Imma [*i. e.*, Imaha or Tourima, not Omma as in Margry] a trois Lieux au Dessous en fit de mesme [*scl.*, me Danserent le calumet pour affermir la paix entre nous]." Procès-verbal, ASH, 67-2:no. 1.

April 1.—They leave the Taensa villages. On this same day, apparently, they meet the Natchez on the bank of the Mississippi. *Ibid.*

April 4.—The expedition arrives opposite the Pischenots, and is visited by the chief of this tribe the following day.

Ibid. This is the only time when the name of these Indians appear; the author of the pseudo-Douay account in Le Clercq, II, 277, borrowed this name from a copy of the procès-verbal. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, s. v. Pischenoas, does not identify them; the word is spelled as in Margry, whereas in the procès-verbal it is written as in the above entry; the two Clairambault copies have Pichen8.

April 8, 10:00 A. M.—Tonti and his men pass by the Quinipissa village.

Ibid. This village was situated in the vicinity of Plaquemine, Louisiana; it was composed of Bayougoula and Mugulasha, see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, s. v. Acolapissa.

April 9.—Arrival at the mouth of the Mississippi.

Procès-verbal, *ibid.*, "I reached [the sea] in Holy Week," that is, between Monday, April 8 and Saturday, April 13, II Tonti, Kellogg, 307. In his letter to Villermont, Tonti says that he reached the sea April 10, Margry, III, 561.

NOTE. The dates are set down as they are found in the procès-verbal, but as can be seen from the following table, there are clearly mistakes with regard to distances and dates.

APRIL.

		DISTANCES			
		Leagues		Miles	
		(Procès-verbal)		(U. S. Survey)	
1	Below Natchez	0		0	
4	Arr. Pischenots	62			
5	Lv. Pischenots				
8	Opposite Quinipissa	49	111	150	
9	Mouth of the Mississippi	40	151	220	370

April 10.—Tonti sends a canoe to the west and another to the east of the mouth of the Mississippi to look for La Salle, while he himself remains on an island at the mouth of the river. These two canoes were to follow the coast for three days, but owing to lack of fresh water, they returned to the island on April 12.

"Le premier [canoe] après avoir navigue trente Lieux à Louest fut obligé de relascher faute Deau douce . . ." Procès-verbal, ASH, 67-2:no. 1. The men who reported that in two days they made a two-hundred-mile journey evidently exaggerated. In his letter to Villermont, Margry, III, 561, Tonti increased this distance to thirty-five leagues. Even the twenty leagues of the author of the *Dernieres decouvertes*, 220, appeared improbable to Joutel, ASH, 115-9:no. 12. The other canoe "qui estoit allé du Costé du Cap de la floride [apres vingt Lieux de navigation] furent obligé aussy de relascher . . . Leur route fut au nord nord est." Procès-verbal, ASH, 67-2:no. 1; the words in brackets are omitted in Margry, III, 557. In his letter to Villermont, he says that they went twenty-five leagues northeastward, and the letter left for La Salle at the Quinipissa village has the following: "Deux canots ont costoyé du costé du Mexique trente lieues, et du costé du cap de la Floride vingt-cinq, lesquels on été obligés de relascher faute d'eau douce." Margry, IV, 191. "I sent out one canoe towards the coast of Mexico, and another towards Carolina, to see if they could discover anything. They each sailed about thirty leagues,

in either direction, but were obliged to stop for want of fresh water." II Tonti, Kellogg, 307.

April 13.—Date of the procès-verbal "drawn up on Saint Henry Island situated to the west of the mouth of the Colbert River, on the shore of the sea of Florida."

ASH, 67-2:no. 1.

April 15.—Tonti leaves the spot where La Salle had taken possession of Louisiana in 1682.

"Ayant trouvé les armes du Roy emportées par la marée, je cherchay un lieu propre pour les faire peindre à un arbre avec cette inscription: 'Louis le Grand règne,' et fis percer un trou de tarière dans un autre arbre, où je fis mettre une lettre pour M. de la Salle." Tonti to Villermont, Margry, III, 561; no date is given in this letter, but in that which he wrote to Seignelay he says that this took place April 16. One reason for selecting April 15 instead, is because of the special mention in the second memoir of a day which could be easily remembered: "We encamped in the place where M. de La Salle had erected the arms of the King. As they had been thrown down by the floods, I took them five leagues farther up, and placed them in a higher situation. I put a silver écu in the hollow of a tree to serve as a mark of time and place. We left this place on *Easter Monday* [April 15, in 1686]." II Tonti, Kellogg, 308. Another reason why April 15 is more probably correct is that it should not have taken more than two days to reach the spot where La Salle had taken possession of Louisiana four years earlier. "Ayant trouvé le poteau, où vous aviez arboré les armes du Roy, renversé par les boys de marées, j'en ay fait planter un autre au decà, environ sept lieues de la mer, et j'ay laissé une lettre dans un arbre à costé, dans un trou de l'arrière [tarière], avec un escriteau dessus." Tonti to La Salle, April 20, 1686, Margry, IV, 190-191. The details in the second memoir were utilized by the author of the *Dernieres decouvertes*, 222, and are thus criticized by Joutel: "A legard du poteau quil dit avoir planté Et sur lequel il dit avoir posé et ataché un ecusson des armes du roy de son aveu il nous a dit quil avoient fait quelques Croix sur des arbres et quil avoit mis un escu dans la fente dun arbre qui apparemment doit estre lecusson dont il fait mention." ASH, 115-9:no. 2.

April 19.—The expedition arrives at the Quinipissa village. Before his departure, on the following day, Tonti leaves with the Indians a letter for La Salle.

"Les quinipisa nous demande la paix je leurs ai accordé et donné une lestre pour Mr. de la Salle en cas quil vin." Tonti to Seignelay, August 24, 1686, ASH, 67-2:no. 1. This passage, as punctuated by Margry, III, 553, does not make sense. The date of his arrival at the

Quinipissa village, April 25, in the letter to Villermont, *ibid.*, 561, is erroneous; Bernou's copy of it, BN, Clairambault, 1016:286v, has April 19; this agrees with the date of Tonti's letter to La Salle which was given thirteen years later to Sauvolle, Margry, IV, 274, and was brought by Bienville to Iberville. The latter inserted a transcript of the first part of this letter in the journal of his first voyage to Louisiana, *ibid.*, 190-191.

End of April.—At the Huma village.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 308. This and the two following dates are inferences based on the dates specified in the documents of the voyage of 1682.

Beginning of May.—Halt at the Yazoo village.

Tonti to Seignelay, ASH, 67-2:no. 1; to Villermont, Margry, III, 561.

Middle of May.—Tonti leaves some of his men in one of the Arkansas villages and proceeds with the rest to the Illinois country.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 308.

June 24.—Arrival at Starved Rock.

Ibid.

Shortly after June 25.—Tonti embarks for Montreal with two Illinois chiefs.

Ibid. There is no indication of his route, cf. *supra*, "After May 23, 1684."

End of July.—Arrival at Montreal.

Ibid. "Chevalier de Tonty, who came to see me at Montreal in the month of last July." Denonville to Seignelay, November 8, 1686, NYCD, IX, 300. There is clearly an error farther down in the same letter, *ibid.*, 301, where it is said that he arrived at Montreal "in the beginning of July with two Illinois chiefs."

August 18, 24, 29.—Tonti at Montreal.

On August 18, he signed a deed authorizing Legras and Poupard to bring merchandise to the Illinois country; the document is in the Chicago Historical Society Library. August 24 is the date of Tonti's letters to Seignelay and Villermont. On August 29, he signed a trade agreement with Bellefontaine and Potier.

Beginning of September.—Tonti leaves Montreal for the Illinois country.

"I left that place [Montreal] at the beginning of September."
II Tonti, Kellogg, 308. In his letter to Seignelay and in that to Villermont, both dated August 24, he says that he is leaving the following

day. We know, however, that he was still at Montreal on August 29. "He left at the end of August." Denonville to Seignelay, November 8, 1686, NYCD, IX, 300. Again there is no indication of his route.

December.—Arrival at Starved Rock.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 308.

1687

April 17.—Tonti leaves Starved Rock for the Strait.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 308.

May 19.—Tonti arrives at the Strait with a contingent of Indians and French.

Ibid., 309. Margry's text translated by Kellogg is erroneous. "After 200 leagues of journey by land, we came, on the 19th of May, to Fort Detroit," *au fort du Détroit*, in Margry. "I sent one [canoe] to Fort St. Joseph, which was at the harbor of Detroit," *au havre du Détroit*, in Margry, "thirty leagues from where we were." These readings do not make sense. In 1687, there was only one fort on the Strait, that built by Duluth in 1686, near present-day Sarnia, Ontario. The copy of the second memoir in the Bibliothèque Nationale has "*au bas du detroit*" and "*au hault du detroit*," respectively. What Tonti says is that after arriving at the Detroit River somewhere in Wayne County, he sent a canoe to Fort St. Joseph, ninety miles to the north. He and his contingent traveled overland from Starved Rock to the Strait, roughly through northern Indiana and southern Michigan. This overland journey is mentioned in his letter to Villermont, Margry, III, 562; in his petition to Pontchartrain, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 80; in his letter to his brother, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 219; and in Denonville's letter to Seignelay, NYCD, IX, 301. He probably followed a route corresponding to that of La Salle, cf. C. H. Prator, "La Salle's Trip across Southern Michigan in 1680," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, XLVII, 1941, 112-117.

June 27.—Tonti, La Durantaye, and Duluth, with Indians and French arrive at Niagara, where they "made a fort below the portage to wait there for news."

II Tonti, Kellogg, 309. Their route from the Detroit River to Niagara was by canoe along the north shore of Lake Erie. The date of their arrival is in Denonville's account of the expedition against the Seneca, October 1687, NYCD, IX, 362-363.

July 10.—Arrival at the marsh of Fort des Sables, "a temporary post at the mouth of the Irondequoit River, New York," due north of Rochester.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 310. For the identification of places in this section of western New York, cf. N. S. Olds, *Journal of the Expedition of*

Marquis de Denonville Against the Iroquois: 1687, Rochester, 1931, map on p. 36. This is the translation of Baugy's *Journal d'une expédition*.

July 13.—Brush with the Iroquois near Victor, New York.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 310. Olds, *op. cit.*, 36, note 20; Denonville's account, NYCD, IX, 365.

July 23.—The expedition leaves the Seneca country for Fort des Sables.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 310. The date is in Olds, *op. cit.*, 43, and in Denonville's account, NYCD, IX, 368.

July 24.—At the mouth of the Irondequoit River.

Olds, *op. cit.*, 44; Denonville, NYCD, IX, 368.

July 26.—The expedition goes on to Niagara.

Olds, *op. cit.*, 45; Denonville, NYCD, IX, 368.

July 30.—Arrival at the mouth of the Niagara River.

Olds, *op. cit.*; Denonville, NYCD, IX, 368. The events mentioned in the above four entries are laconically referred to by Tonti: "We returned to Fort des Sables, then embarked, and went to build a fort at Niagara." II Tonti, Kellogg, 310.

August 2.—Tonti leaves Niagara with Duluth. Hearing that Iroquois were in ambush, he returned to the fort; but left for the Illinois country the following day, August 3.

Olds, *op. cit.*, 48; Denonville's account, NYCD, IX, 368; II Tonti, Kellogg, 310-311. He went by canoe along the north shore of Lake Erie, stopped at Duluth's fort, and at Michilimackinac. From the latter place to Fort St. Louis, we do not know whether he went down the east shore or the west shore of Lake Michigan.

October 27.—Tonti arrives at Starved Rock.

Joutel's journal, Margry, III, 485. No date is given in II Tonti, Kellogg, 311.

NOTE. For the next two years Tonti remained in the Illinois country. There is positive evidence that he was at Starved Rock on the following seven dates:

December 20.—Joutel's journal, Margry, III, 497.

1688

March 21.—*Ibid.*, 508.

June.—De Gannes' memoir in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 307, 340.

Autumn.—*Ibid.*, 324; II Tonti, Kellogg, 311.

1689

March 28.—Tonti to Villermont, BN, Clairambault, 1016:288-289, printed in Margry, III, 564.

September 7.—Couture arrives bringing the news of La Salle's death, of which he had been informed by Cavelier, Douay, and Joutel, more than two years earlier.

Shortly afterwards, Tonti sent Couture to Nicondiché. "He set off, and at 100 leagues from the Fort [Starved Rock] was wrecked and, having lost everything, returned" to Fort St. Louis in the Illinois country whence he had started. II Tonti, Kellogg, 311. From what Tonti wrote it is clear that Couture did not go much farther than the mouth of the Illinois River, a round trip of about 500 miles. Yet, according to a map which purports to express Couture's voyage cartographically, BN, Ge DD, 2987-8784, he is supposed to have gone all the way down to the mouth of the Mississippi, which according to this map is located on the east coast of Texas; and then to have paddled along the coast to Mobile Bay. The map also indicates that he ascended—and, naturally, descended—the Ouabache, and another unnamed large river emptying into the Mississippi across from the mouth of the Arkansas, as well as the Arkansas River itself and the Missouri River. A legend inscribed between these two rivers at the latitude of Memphis informs us that La Salle was killed in this region. On this same voyage, Couture also ascended the Rio Grande to the Rockies, crossed these mountains and descended a "R. S' Francois," which is shown as emptying into the Gulf of California at the latitude of Yuma, Arizona. Although this point is actually at the northern end of the Gulf of California, the map represents a voyage along the Gulf coast three hundred miles north of this latitude, and another voyage along the coast three hundred miles to the south of the "R. S' Francois" but we cannot say from the map which direction he took first. Finally, crossing the Gulf of California in his canoe, he landed on the east coast of "l'Isle de Californie [Baja California]" and followed the coast to the south for another three hundred miles. This "voyage" of Couture is one of the most fantastic in all the literature of mythical travels; yet, G. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1885, 18, no. 28, seems to take it seriously.

November 26.—Land concession on the Arkansas River granted to the Jesuits, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 236-237.

December 3.—Tonti leaves Starved Rock for Matagorda Bay with four Frenchmen, one Shawnee, and two slaves.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 312. "He departed [from the Illinois country] in

1689, to go in search of the remains of M. de la Salle's people." French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 80. "Il auance quil partit des illinois le troisieme decembre 1687 Et nous etions encorre avec luy au mois de mars 1688." Joutel's comments, ASH, 115-9:no. 12, on the statement in the *Dernieres decouvertes*, 317. "1687" is clearly a misprint for 1689. The next ten pages of Joutel's comments are a sarcastic criticism of this voyage of Tonti. Joutel, however, was not criticizing Tonti himself but the ghost-writer who made use of the second memoir and interspersed it with "information" contained in the pseudo-Douay in Le Clercq, and in general even outdoing Hennepin's imaginative efforts published at Utrecht at about the same time. Joutel ends his criticism with these words: "Je suis surpris quil aye voulu souffrir que son nom fut incere comme lautheur de louvrage Se deuant estre contente den auoir donne des memoires en ce que lon auroit Jugé que ce seroit de luy." It does not seem to have occurred to Joutel that until 1700 Tonti was ignorant of the use made of his second memoir by the author of the *Dernieres decouvertes*. How could Tonti have prevented this literary jobber from giving rein to his imagination considering that while the ghost-writer was giving way to a too common mania of improving an author's text, Tonti himself was somewhere in the wild country northwest of Lake Superior? It should also be noted that Joutel's scepticism concerning the existence of some Indian tribes of western Louisiana mentioned in II Tonti and in the *Dernieres decouvertes* is out of place, for Tonti speaks of tribes which Joutel never saw or heard of.

December 17.—Tonti and his companions arrive at the mouth of the Illinois River.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 312.

1690

January 16.—The party arrives at the northernmost Arkansas village, Kapa [Quapaw], and remains there four days.

January 20.—At the Tongigua village.

January 22.—At the Tourima village.

Ibid., 313.

January 23.—Leaving his men in the Tourima village, Tonti goes to the Ossotoué [Uzutiuhi] village, "where my commercial house is."

Ibid. On this "maison de commerce," cf. Joutel's journal, Margry, III, 420, 436; its approximate location is discussed by S. Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: French Domination," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXVI, 1943, 634-635.

January 27.—Having returned from Ossotoué on the preceding day, Tonti leaves Tourima with his men for the South.

February 5.—At the Taensa portage.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 313.

February 12.—Tonti and his party, augmented by thirty Taensa, leave the village of these Indians for Natchitoches, Louisiana.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 314. The text printed by Margry and the text of the copy of II Tonti in the Bibliothèque Nationale are faulty. In this passage Tonti speaks of his sending two of his men from the Taensa portage to the Natchez to make inquiries about two other Frenchmen who had abandoned him. Returning to the Taensa, on February 8, they brought back word that the two Frenchmen had been killed by the Natchez. In neither of the two copies is there any indication that after receiving this news, Tonti went down the Mississippi to the Red River, but both texts simply state that he left the Taensa villages for the northwest.

Margry

Ils arrivèrent le 8 février. Nous EN partismes le 12 avec trente Taença, et après douze lieues de navigation au nordouest, nous quittasmes notre pyrogue, fismes vingt lieues de portage et, le 17 février 1690, nous arrivasmes au village des Nachicoche . . .

Bibliothèque Nationale

Ils arriverent le 8 fev. aux Taença nous EN partimes le 12^e avec 30 Taença et apres 100 [!] lieües de navigation au Nord Ouest nous quitames nre Pyrogue, fimes 20 lieües de portage, et le 17^e fevr. nous arrivasmes au village des Nachitoche.

Those who plot Tonti's route up the Red River should explain why he abandoned his pirogue after twelve leagues, and then began a portage of twenty leagues to Natchitoches which was situated on the banks of the Red River. Again, if he had gone up the Red River on his way to Natchitoches, it would have been much easier to return to the Mississippi from the Kadohadacho village by drifting down the river on rafts or in canoes than by crossing on foot through swamps and water the whole width of present-day Louisiana. Finally, when in 1700, Tonti was asked by Iberville to accompany the latter to the Ceniz, neither Iberville, nor Tonti himself on this occasion or in any of his later writings gives the slightest indication that he had ever been on the lower course of the Red River.

The above text should, I think, be interpreted as follows. He went overland from the Taensa villages, crossing the Ouachita River, which comes from the northwest and is about twelve leagues from his starting point; then across country to Natchitoches which is about twenty leagues from the Ouachita River. His route would thus be approxi-

mately the same as that which Bienville took ten years later, cf. Margry, IV, 432-443.

February 17.—Arrival at Natchitoches.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 314.

Beginning of March.—Arrival at the Naché [Neché] village.

Some time after his arrival, the Indians of Natchitoches "gave guides to the Yataché; and after ascending the river, always to the northwest, about thirty leagues, we found fifteen cabins of Naché, who received us pretty well." II Tonti, Kellogg, 314.

March 16.—At the Yataché [Yatasi] village.

Ibid. These Indians lived in the vicinity of present-day Shreveport, Louisiana.

March 30.—Arrival at the village of the Cadodaquis [Kadohadacho].

Ibid., 315. "We got to the Cadodaquis on the 28th," inaccurately translates "Nous arrivâmes proche des Cadodaquis le 28." "The Cadodaquis are united with two other villages called Natchitoches and Nasoni. They are situated on the Red River." When Bienville left the Yatasi village on April 22, 1700, for that of the Kadohadacho, his guides told him that it would take him "dix nuits—i. e., eleven days, cf. ASH, 115-10: no. 17 Q—pour y aller en pirogue le long de la rivière, ce que je ne peux croire, n'étant qu'à deux journées par terre de ce village, mais où je ne puis aller à cause des grandes eaux . . ." Bienville's journal, Margry, IV, 441. Because the Indians steadfastly maintained that it would take eleven days by canoe to the Kadohadacho village, and also because the ships were due to weigh anchor in twenty days, Bienville returned to the Gulf. As can be seen there is an interval of fourteen days between Tonti's arrival at the Yatasi village and his arrival at that of the Kadohadacho. The journal of Bienville, *ibid.*, 442, enables us to locate the latter Indian village with a fair degree of approximation: "Au rapport de tous les Sauvages de ce village [Yatasi], la rivière de Marne [Red River] passe au village des Cadodaquios, et se sépare en deux branches à une journée au-dessus d'eux: l'une court au nord-est, et l'autre au ouest-nord-ouest." Hence the Kadohadacho village where Tonti went was situated in Miller County, southwestern Arkansas, below the junction of the Little River with the Red River.

April 6.—Tonti with a Frenchman and seven Indians leaves the Kadohadacho villages for Naoudiche [Nabedache].

II Tonti, Kellogg, 316.

April 24.—Arrival at Naoudiche.

Ibid. The Nabedache village was situated in the northeastern part

of Houston County, Texas, cf. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, s. v. Nabedache. Joutel estimated that between this village and Kadohadacho there were about fifty leagues in a northeastern direction, Margry, III, 388-411, which is approximately the distance in that direction between the northeastern part of Houston County and the Red River in Miller County, Arkansas. Joutel made the journey in twelve days' march; Tonti's downward journey took fourteen days of actual traveling, while the return journey was made in twelve.

April 29.—Departure from Naoudiche.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 317.

May 10.—Arrival at the Kadohadacho village.

Ibid., 320. In his two letters to his brother of 1700, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 218-219, 222-223, he says that he was pursued by the Spaniards to this village, and that he had left it six days before their arrival there. There is no mention of this incident in the memoir of 1690-1691. Cf. W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, Austin, Texas, 1917, 123-124.

May 17.—They leave the Kadohadacho with a guide who was to take them "to the village of the Coroas." After four days' journey, their guide abandoned them; then setting their course to the southeast, "and after about forty leagues' march, crossing seven rivers, [they] found the river of the Coroas."

II Tonti, Kellogg, 320-321. In 1700, an Indian guide told Bienville that six leagues north of a Washita village which was situated twenty-one leagues due west of the Taensa, there was a Koroa village on a tributary of the Ouachita River. Margry, IV, 433-434.

July 11.—From the "river of the Coroas," after fifty leagues of travel through flooded country, they reached the Mississippi.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 321. Tonti's return journey through present-day Louisiana, from the Kadodahacho village to the Mississippi, cannot be plotted with any degree of approximation. He must have wandered in every direction if the dates have been correctly transcribed by the copyist, or must have lost his way repeatedly, for it took him two months to cross Louisiana from east to west, a distance of barely 200 miles. Even the point where he came upon the Mississippi cannot be determined, next entry. It might be possible to plot his route approximately if we had the map which he sent with his description of the Mississippi Valley, cf. Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 276.

July 14.—They arrive at a Koroa village.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 321. When they reached the Mississippi, having taken their bearings (*nous estant reconnus*), they found that they "were only thirty leagues from the Coroas"; and in spite of the fact

that they "had not eaten for three days," they traveled more than one hundred miles on foot during this time. If this distance is correct, we must also suppose that, exhausted by fatigue and privations, they traveled in three days half the distance they covered in twelve days in the next stage of their journey, after being rested and refreshed. In *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 43, Washington, D. C., 1911, 329, Swanson observes that, since there is nothing in the text to show that they crossed the river, the Koroa village must have been situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, and hence they could hardly have avoided passing through the Taensa villages. There is no mention of this tribe, which Tonti knew well, and where he would have been as well treated, if not better treated than by the Koroa in whose village he "had never set foot." In the journal of his first journey up the Mississippi, Iberville wrote that the Koroa village was on their left as they went up the river, and that it was situated three days' journey above the Taensa village, which, he says, was on their right. Margry, IV, 179. He makes these statements on the authority of a Taensa Indian; but since the actual position of the Taensa village is on the opposite bank, it is doubtful whether Iberville understood what his informant had told him.

July 31.—Tonti and his companions arrive at the Arkansas.

August 11.—Departure from the Arkansas for the Illinois country.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 321.

September.—Arrival at Starved Rock.

Ibid. "Ten months were spent in going and returning." Tonti's petition to Pontchartrain, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 80; that is, from the beginning of December 1690 to late in September 1691.

1691

Spring.—Tonti leaves Starved Rock for Michilimackinac.

De Gannes' memoir, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 324 and 326.

Summer.—At Michilimackinac.

"Au mois de Septembre je receu une Lettre de Mr. de Tonty de Michillimaquinac." *Ibid.*, 326.

Winter.—On arriving from Michilimackinac, Tonti began the building of a fort near present-day Peoria, Illinois.

Ibid., 327. From this date on when "Fort St. Louis" is referred to in the documents of the period, it is no longer question of the fort

built by La Salle on Starved Rock, but of the stronghold on the east side of Peoria. Cf. C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country 1673-1818*, Springfield, Illinois, 1920, 100, note 9.

1692

La Forest arrived in the spring with hired men and soldiers to finish the fort at Peoria. Whether Tonti left the Illinois country for Montreal in the summer is not clear from the available evidence. The postscript by Frontenac to Tonti's petition of this year implies that he was in Lower Canada, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 81. The letter of Father Gravier to Villermont, March 17, 1694, BN, Ms. fr., 22804:60, likewise seems to say that he left the Illinois country in 1692: "Monsieur Dilliette son cousin quil a laissé icy pendant deux ans quil en a esté absent . . ." And Tonti himself wrote to Villermont "ayant chargé M. de Vaudreuil de mes intérêts," implying that he personally spoke to Vaudreuil in 1692. It would seem then that Tonti went to Montreal that year, but we do not know whether he returned to the Illinois country or to Michilimackinac. See next entry.

1693

August.—Tonti arrives at Montreal from Michilimackinac.

Narrative of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada. 1692-1693. NYCD, IX, 568-569. Cf. the postscript to Frontenac's letter of August 18, 1693, RAPQ, 1928, 154.

After September 12.—Tonti leaves Montreal for Michilimackinac.

"They [Ottawa Indians] were followed by the French under the direction of the Sieur de Tonty commandant at the Illinois." NYCD, IX, 569. These Indians left on September 11. While in Montreal Tonti sent two letters to Villermont dated September 2 and 12, respectively. *Supra*, Tonti's writings, no. 6.

1694

April 11.—Tonti at Fort St. Louis, Peoria.

Statement signed on this day giving the number of Iroquois killed or captured by the Illinois since 1687, AC, C 13A, 1:27, printed in Margry, IV, 5, note 1. We do not know the date of his arrival from Montreal in the preceding year, but he was certainly at Fort St. Louis before April 11, as is clear from Gravier's letter to Villermont of March 17, 1694, BN, Mss. fr., 22804:60. Nor do we know which route he followed from Michilimackinac to the Illinois country.

1695-1696-1697

August 8, 1695.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac for the Assiniboin country.

Between the spring of 1695, when he left Fort St. Louis for Michilimackinac, cf. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 353, and September 13, 1698, Tonti traveled extensively in the Lake Superior region. The only definite information which we have about these voyages is found in a letter of Cadillac written in 1696, and which was addressed to Lagny. "Having learned that the Sieur d'Iberville had left to attack Port Nelson, I thought it would be good to know as soon as possible the outcome of this expedition. I spoke of what I had in mind to the Sieur de Tonti who immediately and willingly offered himself to go by way of the lakes and rivers in search of news. I took him at his word and gave him twenty men to accompany him. He left on August 8, last year [1695]. Contrary winds long detained him on Lake Superior; then ice set in, so that he was not able to go very far and only journeyed about 200 leagues [from Michilimackinac]. As soon as the ice melted, he pursued his journey and is bound for the great lake of the Assiniboin which discharges its waters into the sea through the river of Port Nelson. I gave orders to the Sieur de Tonti, in case some accident should have befallen the Sieur d'Iberville, to give the latter all the help he could, by means of the Indians and French who went with him, and to do all that was necessary in such circumstances.

He sent back three of the French who were with him; they arrived here [Michilimackinac] toward the end of June [1696]. Tonti writes that he heard from the Indians that the Sieur d'Iberville has conquered Hudson Bay, and lost only two men; but he also says that he has been unable to learn anything definite about the capture of Fort Nelson. You will no doubt learn all about it this year." BN, Clairambault, 882:138.

As can be seen from the above, Cadillac gives no indication whatever with regard to Tonti's route. The route marked by E. R. Murphy on his map of Tonti's voyages is just as plausible as any other. We are not even sure of the identity of the "lac des Assiniboels" spoken of by Cadillac. The latter, it is true, says that this lake "va tomber a la mer par la riviere du port Nelson." This would identify it with Lake Winnipeg. However, Cadillac's knowledge of this part of Canada like that of everyone else at the time, was too vague to be used as a sure basis for identification. Cf. the numerous sketch maps of Claude Delisle in AN, JJ, 75.

It is interesting to compare Cadillac's reason for Tonti's voyage in the letter quoted above with the reason given by Frontenac and by Champigny. The governor wrote to his friend Lagny, November 2, 1695, Margry, V, 63, that Tonti undertook this voyage to free himself from the persecution of the Jesuits of Michilimackinac. Four days later Champigny wrote to Pontchartrain that the reason why Tonti went to the Assiniboin country was simply to satisfy his greed; *ibid.*, 66. Cf. also *id.* to *id.*, October 13, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:129.

1697-1698

Winter.—Tonti in the North.

Father Gravier was nearly killed by the Illinois, "pandant que Iestoit au nord lhyver passe." Tonti to St. Vallier, July 14, 1699, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 238. He is here referring to the winter of 1697-1698, because during the winter of 1698-1699, he went down to the Arkansas.

1698

September 10-13.—Tonti at Michilimackinac.

On September 10, he transferred half his share of the Illinois concession to his brother Alphonse. Facsimile of the document in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VI, 1923, 577. The date October 27, 1698, is when it was deposited with the keeper of deeds. The words "déposé pour minutte de ce jour," are translated "deposited at midnight [!] of this day," a rendering reproduced by Murphy, *Henry de Tonty*, 118. Murphy also copied the wrong date of the English translation of this document, September 19 instead of September 10.

September 13 is the date of Tonti's letter to St. Vallier notifying the bishop that he was leaving the following day with MM. de Montigny, St. Cosme, and Davion for the Arkansas. Copy of this letter in the Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), Carton *Missions*, no. 50. Cf. Gravier to Laval, September 20, 1698, JR, 65:60.

September 14.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac with the priests of the Foreign Missions.

Letter of M. de St. Cosme dated Arkansas, January 2, 1699, Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 342. On this letter, cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of North America, 1703," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 289-290.

September 21.—The party camps on Summer Island, which lies across the entrance of Green Bay.

Kellogg, 343.

September 29.—They stop at a Potawatomi village "distant about twenty leagues from the crossing of the bay."

Ibid., 344. According to Kellogg, this village was "on the Lake Michigan side of the Door County, peninsula," Wisconsin.

October 4.—They arrive at another Potawatomi village "on the site of the present Manitowoc, Wisconsin."

Ibid.

October 9.—Arrival at the site of present-day Milwaukee.

Ibid., 345.

October 11.—At the mouth of the Root River, on the site of present-day Racine, Wisconsin.

Ibid. In the De Gannes' memoir, the Root River, Kipikaoui, is spoken of as follows: "Lembouchure de la Riviere de Chipiscatouy qui se décharge dans le Lac Mechigané, a 20 L. en deça de Chicagoua du Costé du nord," Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 392. The position of towns and rivers is always given with reference to Montreal where this memoir was written.

October 17.—The party leaves Racine, Wisconsin.

In the interval they had attempted to reach the Illinois River by way of the Fox. Finding no water at the portage, they thought "that there would not be any in the Peschoui either," and so returned to the shore of Lake Michigan. Kellogg, 345, notes 4 and 5.

October 21.—Arrival at the mouth of the Chicago River.

Ibid., 346.

October 29.—Departure from Chicago.

Ibid., 347.

November 8.—At "Mont Joliet."

Ibid., 349. This is situated near Joliet, Illinois. The earliest and only inscription of this bluff on a map, where it is misplaced, is on a copy of the map which Jolliet drew from memory after his return to Quebec in July 1674. Cf. S. J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, volume II, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Illinois, 1942, notes on plate IV, p. 2. "Mont Joliet" is not mentioned in any document of the seventeenth century which I have seen until the letter of St. Cosme; but the name had persisted in the Illinois country. "Il y a même un Endroit qu'on appelle le Mont Joliet . . . cet Endroit ce nomme Jllet [*i. e.*, Joliet, not Illes as in the printed copy] parce qu'un Voyageur qui portoit ce nom y fut arrêté fort longtemps." De Gannes' memoir, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 303. There is no authority for saying that Jolliet was "detained here a long time."

November 11.—At the confluence of the Des Plaines and the Kankakee rivers.

Kellogg, 349.

November 15.—Arrival at Starved Rock.

November 19.—At Fort St. Louis, Peoria.

Ibid., 350.

November 22.—The party leaves Fort St. Louis.

Ibid., 351.

December 5.—Arrival at the mouth of the Illinois River.

Ibid., 354.

December 6.—They pass the mouth of the Missouri River.

December 7.—Tonti goes to the Tamarois village.

Ibid., 355.

December 12.—Off Cape St. Antoine.

Ibid., 356. "Cape St. Antoine appears to have been just above the Grand Eddy in Perry County, Missouri"; *ibid.*, note 1. This agrees with the corrected position of "Cap St. Antoine ou il y a un grand courant," on the 1702 Delisle map of the Mississippi. Cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 292-293; Penicaut's Relation, Margry, V, 404. The name dates back to the time of La Salle's expedition of 1682.

December 22.—At the mouth of the Wolf River, near the site of present-day Memphis, Tennessee.

December 25.—Christmas Day was spent in the vicinity of present-day Helena, Arkansas.

December 26.—"We slept at the place where the Kappas, a tribe of the Acansças, formerly dwelt," near Knowlton, Arkansas. Kellogg, 358.

December 27.—Arrival at the northernmost Arkansas village, situated five leagues below the camping place of the preceding day.

Ibid., 358-359.

December 30.—As the second Arkansas village, Tongigua, nine leagues from the first.

December 31.—At the third Arkansas village, Tourima.

Ibid., 360.

1699

January 3.—Tonti leaves the Arkansas for the Illinois country.

Ibid., 361.

May.—At Fort St. Louis.

Tonti to St. Vallier, July 14, 1699, *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, 1939, 237.

July 14 to the autumn.—Tonti at Michilimackinac.

Tonti to St. Vallier, *ibid.*; to his brother, February 28, 1700, *ibid.*, 216-217.

1700

Beginning of February.—Tonti stops at the Taensa villages on his way to the Gulf.

"About this time, Monsieur de Tonti, seignior of the Illinois, stopped at the Taensa with a few Frenchmen from the Illinois country. He was on his way to the fort which the French have built on the 'baye des biloxis.'" Montigny to ———, July 17, 1700, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:128. Sauvolle had written to Tonti the preceding year notifying him of the time of the arrival of the ships. Margry, IV, 459. The fort mentioned by Montigny was Fort Maurepas, on the site of present-day Ocean Springs, Mississippi. Cf. J. Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, Washington, D. C., 1935, 5, n. 33.

February 16.—Tonti with seven Canadians arrives at Fort Mississippi, which was situated near Phoenix, Louisiana.

R. L. Butler, ed. and transl., *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, Chicago, 1934, 12. Iberville to Pontchartrain, February 26, 1700, Margry, IV, 364; Iberville's journal, *ibid.*, 404. Bénard de La Harpe, *Journal historique de l'Etablissement des Français à la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831, 26.

February 19.—Tonti leaves Fort Mississippi with Iberville.

Iberville to Pontchartrain, Margry, IV, 366; Iberville's journal, *ibid.*, 405.

February 24.—Tonti at the "Portage des égarés."

Journal of Iberville, *ibid.*; the letter to Pontchartrain has February 23. In neither is the name of the portage given; this is found in the extract from a letter of Le Sueur, April 4, 1700, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:8. The Portage des égarés, sometimes identified with the site of present-day New Orleans, was situated between Laplace and Sellers, Louisiana. Cf. Margry, IV, 188, 312; ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z.

February 28.—At the Quinipissa village, *i. e.*, the Bayougoula-Mugulasha.

Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 406; *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 22. Tonti's letter to his brother in France was written at the Quinipissa landing, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 215-220. Sauvolle, Margry, IV, 453, 455, 457, explains the discrepancy between the location of this village at the time of La Salle's expedition and in 1700. Cf. also ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z. In 1682, the village was located between Edgard and Hahnville, Louisiana; in 1700, near present-day Bayou Goula, Louisiana.

March 1.—Tonti stops at the Portage des égarés on his way to Fort Mississippi.

Letter of Le Sueur, BN, Ms. fr. n. a., 21395:9.

March 4.—At Fort Mississippi.

This is the date of his second letter to his brother in France, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 220-235.

March 24.—Tonti at the Huma landing.

Journal of Paul Du Ru, 45; Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 418.

March 28.—Tonti arrives at the Natchez landing, and goes to the villages of these Indians on the following day.

Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:12v.

April 3.—Tonti leaves the Natchez for the Tunica.

Ibid., 13.

Mid-April.—Arrival at the Tunica villages, whence he wrote to Iberville before leaving for the North.

Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 430.

NOTE. If Tonti went to the Illinois country, I have found no record of his arrival there. Le Sueur, who was also ascending the Mississippi, on his way to the Sioux country, arrived at the Tamarois village at the end of June 1700, Margry, IV, 408, note 2. As I noted elsewhere, "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 291-293, his journal is unfortunately inaccessible at present. Instead of publishing this important journal, Margry chose to print the childish, unreliable, and practically useless recollections of André Pénicaut; cf. E. McCann, "Pénicaut and His Chronicle of Early Louisiana," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIII, 1941, 288-304. However little Pénicaut can be depended upon, it seems that if Le Sueur had overtaken Tonti, he would have mentioned this fact.

This was Tonti's last visit to the region with which his name is more indissolubly linked than with any other part of North America. We do not know when he left for the Gulf. Here again the missing information is perhaps contained in the journal of Le Sueur, who returned from the Sioux country in 1701, arriving at Fort Maurepas on July 16, that is, three weeks before we know that Tonti was also there.

1701

August 4.—Tonti at Fort Maurepas.

Sauvolle's narrative, D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders, eds. and transls., *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1701-1729, French Dominion*, Jackson, Miss., 1929, 16. Tonti may have made another voyage to the Mississippi between this date and the arrival of Iberville, for the following item undoubtedly refers to a journey which took place in 1701, since we know for certain that he was not on the Mississippi River between January 1 and March 31, 1702. "Estat de la Depense qui a esté faite par M^r Diberville . . . pour l'establissement de la Riviere de la Mobille depuis le p^{er} Janv^{er} au 31^e mars 1702 . . . Au s^r de Tonty pour son Remboursement de la somme de quatre vingt Livres pour une pirogue de bois a luy appartenant, qu'il a perduë au service

du Roy dans la Riviere de Mississipy suivant son receu cy joint." AC, C 13A, 1:373.

1702

January 11.—Tonti leaves Dauphine Island with Bienville and Sérigny for Mobile Bay. Here, some twenty miles above the present-day city of Mobile, was begun a few days later the first French settlement on the Gulf Coast. The official name of the settlement was Fort Louis de la Louisiane, but it was commonly referred to as Mobile.

Nicolas de la Salle's narrative, Margry, IV, 530-531; Iberville's journal, *ibid.*, 505-506. Neither mentions the fact that Tonti went, but this is clear from the following entry.

February 8.—Tonti is sent by Iberville to the Choctaw and Chickasaw.

Nicolas de la Salle's narrative, Margry, IV, 531. The order of Iberville is in the latter's journal, *ibid.*, 507.

February 14.—Tonti leaves the Tohome village for the Choctaw.

This Indian village was then situated on the west bank of the Tombigbee River, at latitude $31^{\circ} 22'$; Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 514. It is placed on the east bank of this river in Claude Delisle's sketch of Mobile Bay, AN, JJ, 75-239.

February 21.—Arrival at the first Choctaw village.

February 24.—Departure from the second Choctaw village for the Chickasaw country.

This second Choctaw village was five leagues from the first, and sixty-three leagues northwest of the Tohome, or in Montgomery County, Mississippi. In his summary of the information supplied by Tonti, Iberville wrote: "Des Chactas aux Tohomés, cinquante-cinq à soixante lieues au sud-sud-est. Les Chactas peuvent estre par 33° degrés 30 minutes nord ou 34° degrés au plus." Margry, IV, 519. Hence in Webster County or in Calhoun County, Mississippi. In a memoir written after his return to France, Iberville gives the position of these Choctaw villages as $33^{\circ} 45'$. Margry, IV, 593.

March 3.—Tonti arrives at a Chickasaw village situated forty-four leagues north by west of the second Choctaw village, *i. e.*, in present-day Fayette County, Tennessee.

He wrote to Iberville: "Nous arrivames au village le 3 Mars aiant tenu notre route au N. 4 de N. E." In the summary already mentioned, Iberville reversing the direction wrote: "Des Chicachas aux Chactas, il y a environ quarante et quarantecinq lieues au sud quart sud ouest";

not as Margry, IV, 519, has it, "sud quart ouest." When, however, Tonti's return journey is plotted league by league, the line does not make a north by east angle, but a north by west angle. In the memoir written after his return to France, Iberville placed the Chickasaw villages at latitude 35° 20'. Margry, IV, 594.

March 6.—Tonti departs from the Chickasaw village with "5 des considerables 2 louez et 3 femmes Chicacha."

March 14.—Tonti writes to Iberville from the second Choctaw village where he had arrived the day before.

All the above information concerning dates and places is found in the two letters mentioned *supra*, Tonti's writings, no. 10. These extracts were further summarized by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z. The route is plotted on the well-known *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi*, published at Paris in 1718 by Guillaume Delisle. On this map the Chickasaw villages are located above the latitude of present-day Memphis, between the Mississippi and the R. de la Mobile, i. e., the upper reaches of the feeders of the Tombigbee River.

March 25.—Tonti arrives at Mobile with Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians.

La Salle's narrative, Margry, IV, 531; Iberville's journal, *ibid.*, 516.

April 15.—Tonti at Pensacola.

This is the date of a letter written from Pensacola to Pontchartrain. The letter itself does not seem to be extant, but an extract from it made by a clerk in Paris is in AC, C 11A, 20:149v-150. Tonti says that Iberville sent him thither "pour y faire un fort et contenir les nations des Chicachas et Chactas."—In his letter of December 12, 1702, M. Davion seems to refer to another visit of Tonti to Pensacola. Not long ago, the missionary wrote, the English had instigated a massacre there. Besides two Spanish missionaries and a few Spaniards, two hundred Indians, allies of the Apalaches, had been put to death by Carolina Indians. "We learned this from the governor of Pensacola, when we went there in a pinnace with M. de Tonti who had been asked by the governor to take measures for the protection of his fort." Archives du Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, Paris, 344:60. A copy of this volume of letters is in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

1703

December 22.—Tonti leaves Mobile with the expedition led by Bienville against the Alibamons [Alibamu].

The villages of these Indians were situated in Elmore County, Alabama, at the confluence of the Coosa and the Talapoosa Rivers.

1704

January 3.—Skirmish with the Alibamu at two days' journey from their village, which was situated below Montgomery, on the Alabama River. This was the farthest point reached by the expedition.

January 11.—Return to Mobile.

Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, AC, C 13A, 1:449-456, translated by D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders in *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1704-1743, French Dominion*, Jackson, Miss., 1932, 19-22. Cf. Pénicaut's Relation, Margry, V, 429-431. The dates are in La Harpe, *Journal historique*, 82-83.

September 4.—Death of Tonti at Fort Louis de la Louisiane.

Revue generale des officiers . . . avec ce qui leur sera deub pour leur appointemens et solde des services qu'ils ont rendu pendant l'année 1704. AC, F 1, 11:218.

Mort de maladie
le 4 sept. 1704.

Le S^r Chevalier de Tonty
commandant les Canadiens
a 50¹¹ par mois

405¹¹ 13^s 4^d

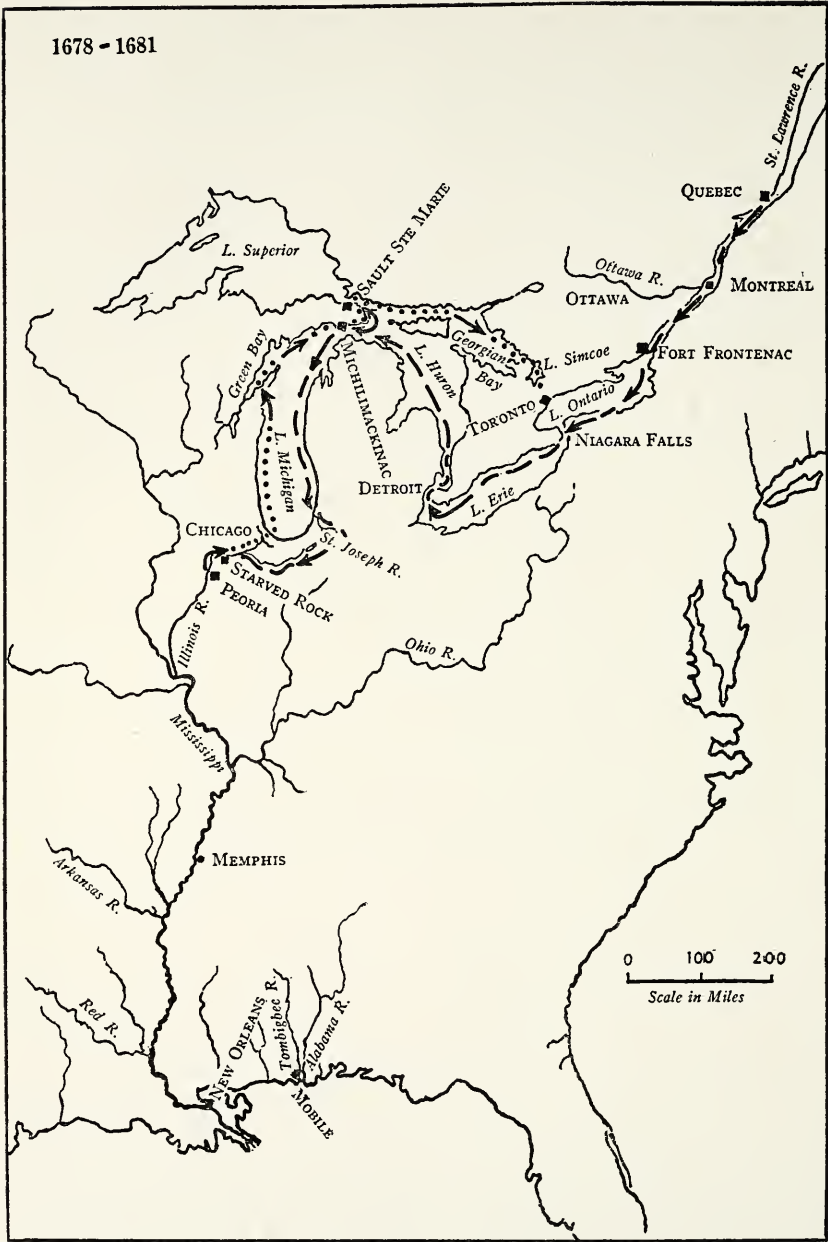
There can be no doubt about the day of the month, for 50 livres per month means a daily pay of 1 livre 13 sols 4 deniers, hence 5 livres 13 sols 4 deniers for four days. Until this pay roll was found the exact date of his death was not known. After the publication, in 1831, of La Harpe's *Journal historique*, it was known merely that Tonti had died in September 1704. In 1887, Margry, V, 368, published eight lines from Bienville's letter of September 6, 1704, the last four of which are as follows: "Depuis le 6 September, date de la lettre, il est mort deux officiers au Fort-Louis, à savoir: MM. Levasseur et Tonty, lieutenant d'infanterie et officier canadien. Tonty avoit accompagné Bienville dans l'expédition contre les Alibamons." From this text, Murphy, *Henry de Tonty*, 85, inferred that Tonti died shortly after September 6. A reviewer of Murphy's book objected to this date on the ground that Bienville's letter, cited as evidence, was itself dated September 6, 1704, and therefore that Tonti's death must have occurred previously. But as I observed elsewhere, *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV, 1942, 141, Bienville's mention of Tonti's death occurs not in the letter itself but in the postscript, and the wording of this postscript, which was written after the date of the letter does not warrant any other conclusion than that of Murphy. On the other hand, since the date found in the pay roll is quite certain, there must be some explanation for these conflicting statements. We first note that this letter is a copy and that the only autograph parts of it are the signature and the postscript; secondly, that the letter is dated by the copyist at the foot of the last page but

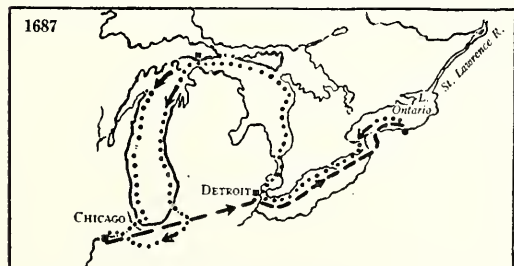
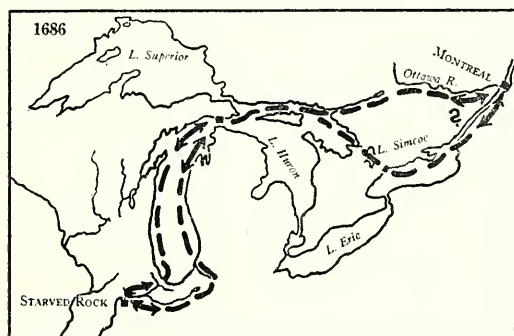
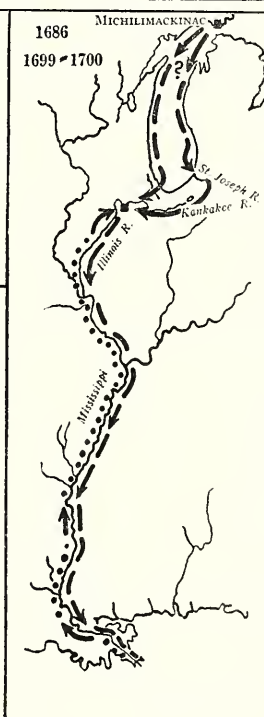
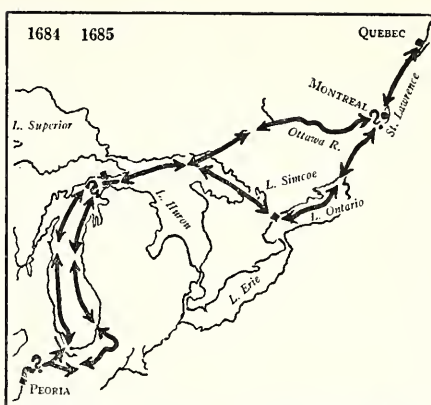
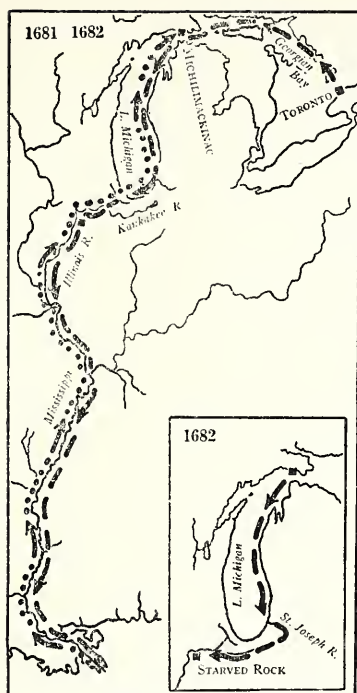
one. Hence we must conclude that Bienville's draft was written before the death of Tonti. When re-reading it on September 6, after it had been transcribed by the copyist, he noticed before signing it that he had not mentioned the death of Levasseur and Tonti, and so he added on the last page: "Depuis que jay Eû l'honneur de vous escrire cette presante lettre il m'est Mort deux officiers qui sont Mess^{rs} Levasseur et de Tonty Lieutenant d'infanterie et officier Canadien."

Another point is the "maladie" of which Tonti died. "Dans le mois de Septembre [1704] les maladies furent considérables. M. Ducoudray-Guimont [the captain of the *Pélican*] perdit la moitié de son équipage . . . MM. de Tonty et Le Vasseur . . . moururent pendant ce mois." La Harpe, *Journal historique*, 85. In a 1706 petition to the minister by Tonti's brother in France, only an extract from it is extant, the following item occurs: "Demande une lieutenance ou une enseigne pour de Liet son cousin qui commande aux Islinois en l'absence du Chevalier de Tonty mort de la peste au Mississipi, dont il a fait la decouverte avec feu M. de la Salle." AC, C 11A, 120:105. In his letter of September 6 mentioned above, Bienville wrote that the *Pélican* "Nous a apporté la Peste qu'il avoit attrapé a la Havanne." Since the word "peste" was the popular name given to the "mal de Siam," Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 8:82-82v, which was another name for yellow fever, it seems probable that Tonti died of this disease.

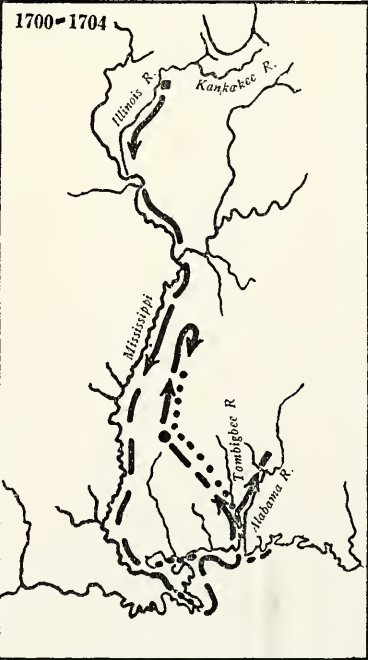
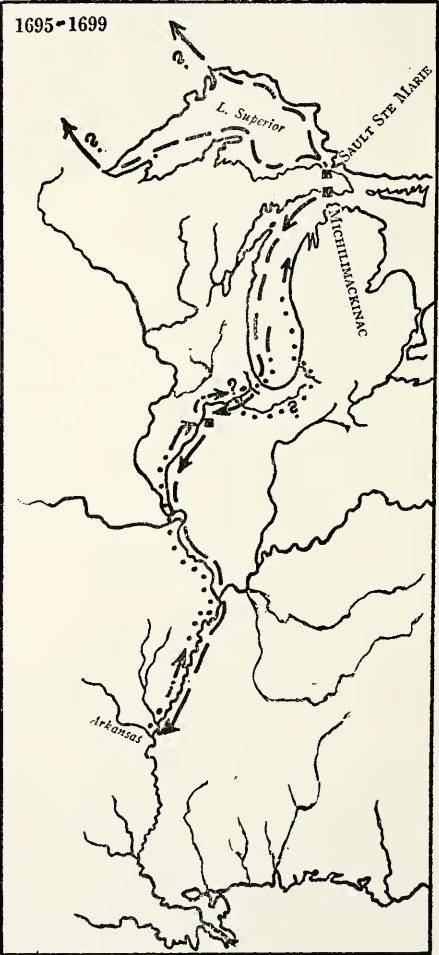
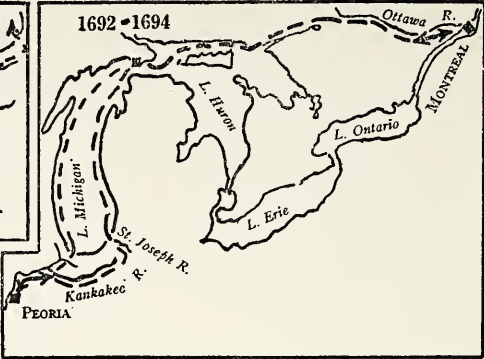
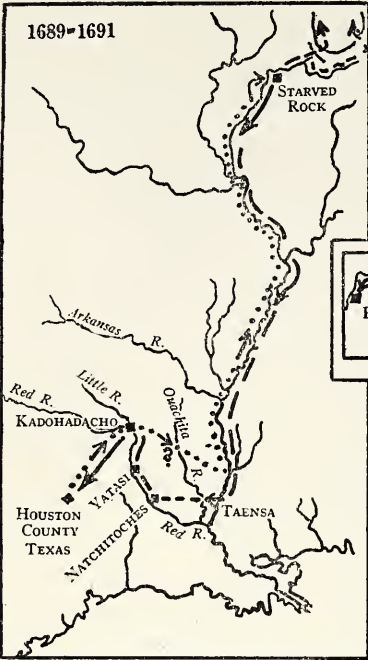
"But the Pelican had touched at St. Domingo and brought also the yellow fever . . . Henri de Tonty died in that September of 1704. The site of the cemetery has been lost, but we may imagine it in the woods behind the little town. There in an unknown grave near the Mobile River, they laid the remains of Tonty, one of America's great men. . . ." P. J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, New York, 1910², 69.

JEAN DELANGLEZ





0 100 200
Scale in Miles



DOCUMENT

The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi

Shortly after his return to Quebec in the latter part of July 1674, Louis Jolliet was interviewed by Father Dablon, who on August 1, set down in writing what he had learned from the explorer. The original is lost, but several copies of it are extant; one of the hitherto unpublished copies which was made in Paris in 1675 is printed below. It is here published because this account is one of the five basic sources for our knowledge of the expedition of 1673. The other sources are, first, Marquette's map; secondly, copies of a map which Jolliet drew from memory after his return to Quebec; thirdly, two copies of the dedicatory letter which he inscribed on this map; and finally, a copy of a letter which he wrote to Laval, October 10, 1674.

The volume in which the document here printed is found is made up of six manuscripts of which this account of the discovery of the Mississippi is the second. This account covers four full pages and three lines of a fifth. The title of the whole second manuscript reads: Relation // De ce qui s'est passé dans les Missions // Des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus // En la nouvelle France // L'annee 1673 // Enuoyée par le RP. Claude D'Ablon // Superieur des dites Missions // Au R. P. Jean Pinette // Prouvincial de la meme Comp^e. // En la Province de France. //¹ We shall inquire into the reasons why a document dated August 1, 1674, is found at the beginning of the Relation of 1672-1673.

The surmises of those who have written about this celebrated voyage of Jolliet could have been dispensed with if these manuscripts had been examined without preconceived ideas, and if a few facts of which we are certain had been kept in mind. The Relation of 1672-1673 had already been composed by Dablon, when he was notified, in the summer of 1673, that the publication of the *Relations de la Nouvelle-France* would be discontinued. As we shall see, there are reasons for believing that the

¹ Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier, 155, Canada I, 1-5.

manuscript of this Relation was not sent to Paris that same year. One thing is certain: it is not found today in the Jesuit Archives of the Province of France or in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. Of itself this does not necessarily mean that the Relation of 1672-1673 was not sent to France at that time, considering how the Jesuit Archives in that country were subsequently looted and pillaged by the so-called apostles of enlightenment. We are also certain that a copy was kept at Quebec, and that in the following year, 1674, Dablon sent to his Provincial, Jean Pinette, the revised Relation of 1672-1673, shortened in some places, lengthened in others, and that he prefaced it with the account of the discovery of the Mississippi as reported to him by Jolliet.

The above, as well as what we shall have to say about the Relation of 1672-1673, could have been made known by the editors who published these manuscripts in the nineteenth century. But although these good men had the best intentions, their ideas about editing texts now appear very strange. In those days, editors quite generally felt at liberty to tamper with the texts in various ways. The classic example in this country is the editing of Washington's writings for publication by Jared Sparks. This editor apparently took the view that it would be an impropriety to allow Washington's spelling lapses to be made public. Among the extenuating circumstances for the editors of the manuscript *Relations de la Nouvelle-France*, is their purpose in publishing them. They intended them for the general reader, and were not concerned with issuing a critical edition, although in the long run a critical edition would have been more useful. All today admit that it is permissible to reproduce a text in modern garb, provided the sense of the original be not impaired in the process. All agree likewise, that it is permissible to amend and modernize the text by ridding it of verbal oddities and solecisms, which would only distract or perplex the ordinary reader, or perhaps even deter him altogether from its perusal. But the nineteenth-century editors of the manuscript *Relations* went much farther, and created many difficulties for those who wished to use the text they published.

Thwaites voices his dissatisfaction with "the bibliography of Marquette's voyages,"² especially with the bibliography of the voyage down the Mississippi in 1673. He would have been able to solve most of his difficulties if either he or Father Jones had

² R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 59:294.

secured the manuscripts themselves, instead of relying on the *Relations inédites* published in 1861, and on the bibliographical notes which accompany this edition.³ "The two volumes edited by Father Felix Martin, and known as *Relations inédites* . . . form vols. iii and iv of the collection published by Charles Douniol. . . ."⁴ This is not quite correct. Father Martin wrote a study on the Relations which he sent to Father Daniel, then editor of the *Études*, a review published in Paris by the French Jesuits. This study appears as the introduction and the appendix of the *Relations inédites*. Father Martin also communicated to the editors copies of some of the manuscripts which had been preserved by the nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec, and which they had handed over to him in 1844. All the bibliographical notes and the footnotes are by the French editor, Father Fortuné M. de Montézon.⁵ There is no connection between these *Relations inédites* and the two volumes on the missions of Cayenne and of Cochinchina, published at Paris in 1857, the first by Lanier, the second by Douniol; and so it is inaccurate to refer to the *Relations inédites* as the third and fourth volumes of the Douniol Collection.

Speaking of the Relation of 1672-1673, Thwaites says that, according to the title-page, it is

credited to Dablon, then the Quebec Superior of his order. But the first draft was from the hand of Jean de Lamberville; Dablon edited it with much freedom, and sent a perfected copy to Europe, retaining the original MS., which is now conserved in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.⁶

Thwaites published the entire manuscript of this Relation;

³ *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France (1672-1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes Relations (1615-1672)*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1861.

⁴ JR, 57:311.

⁵ Cf. P. Desjardins, *Le Collège Sainte-Marie de Montréal*, "Le Fondateur [Father Felix Martin]," Montreal, 1940, 216-217, 228-236. From what Father Desjardins says, *ibid.*, 237, and from what Father Martin himself wrote in 1885, it is clear that, in 1858, he did not bring to Paris the "Roman manuscripts" mentioned in the *Relations inédites*. "J'ai eu entre les mains [in Rome] les deux gros cahiers où on avait entassé ce qui regarde le Canada et c'est de là que j'ai extrait tout ce que j'ai copié," Desjardins, *op. cit.*, 238. During his short sojourn in Rome, Martin copied twenty-seven letters dated from 1611 to 1669. The "Roman manuscripts" had been sent from Rome to Paris in 1845.—"On peut dire sans se tromper que toutes les notes ajoutées aux deux volumes des Relations [inédites] sont dues aux éditeurs de Paris." Martin to Vignon, in Desjardins, *op. cit.*, 248. Even if we had not this formal statement of Father Martin, it is apparent that these notes were written by one who had never been in Canada, and whose acquaintance with the history of seventeenth-century New France was very sketchy.

⁶ JR, 57:307.

namely, Lamberville's draft, and all of Dablon's corrections, additions, and excisions. He printed in Roman type the Lamberville text, as retained by Dablon, and also any matter substituted or added by Dablon himself. These corrections he enclosed in brackets, and printed in italics the matter stricken out by Dablon.

What led Thwaites to write that "the first draft was from the hand of Jean de Lamberville" is a note in the upper right-hand corner of the first page: "Écriture du P. Jean de Lamberville f[élix] M[artin]." Now this manuscript is in the hand of a copyist, who cannot be identified as one of the Jesuit priests then in Quebec, it is certainly not in the handwriting of Lamberville, but probably in that of a Jesuit lay-brother. To say that the *Relation* is "credited" to Dablon is rather misleading, for there can be no doubt that Dablon is actually its author. One of the duties of the superior of the Jesuit missions in New France was to write the annual relations. In 1673, that superior was Dablon, and no one who has any knowledge of his character will believe that he entrusted the composition of the annual report to any of his subordinates.⁷ Moreover, the "Lamberville draft" bears Dablon's editorial touch; expressions are found at every turn that are unmistakably his, and there are numerous stylistic indications which show just as clearly that the *Relation* of 1672-1673 was not originally composed by Lamberville and later corrected by Dablon. Finally, we know that Jean de Lamberville was among the Onondaga in 1673, and that he remained among these Indians until 1678, the year of his return to France.

Since there is no doubt that the corrections, additions, or excisions are in the hand of Dablon, whose handwriting is as individual as his style, we shall inquire why and when the changes were made. We have already noted that in his publication of the *Relation* of 1672-1673, Thwaites made use of typographical devices which enable the reader to see at one glance what portions were written in 1673—the so-called "Lamberville draft"—and what corrections Dablon made. "This manner of presentation," says Thwaites, "(which we have not found possible with any other *Relation*) gives an interesting and unique example of the methods of editing employed by the father superior, and incidentally throws much light on the mental attitude of the missionaries."⁸

⁷ Cf. "Claude Dablon, S. J. (1619-1697)," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 92 ff.

⁸ JR, 57:308.

I must confess that I do not see the force of this last remark. The "methods of editing employed by the father superior" can hardly be called "unique" for it is difficult to see how he could have used any other methods under the circumstances. Dablon had the Relation which he had written in 1673, and had also written that of 1673-1674,⁹ he had at his disposal information about events that had taken place in the missions during the past two years, instead of merely one year; and combined the two Relations into one. In doing so, he naturally had to recast what he had written for the year 1672-1673, besides making many verbal or stylistic changes. Of this revision, which is dated 1672-1673, he had at least two copies made, one of which was sent to Paris in 1674, and the other kept in Quebec. The latter copy differs from the copy sent to Paris because it contains further changes made by Dablon between 1674 and 1678.¹⁰ Hence the "methods of editing" mentioned by Thwaites simply amount to a normal revision by the author of the Relation of 1672-1673 in view of fresh information received in 1674.

Thwaites then goes on to say: "There are known to exist three MSS of this [1672-1673] *Relation*: (1) The original, in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal—which is Lamberville's text with Dablon's emendations."¹¹ Rather, as we have seen, this manuscript is a copy in an unknown hand of the text of Dablon, the true author of the Relation of 1672-1673, with his own corrections, most of which were added the following year. ". . . (2) 'detached duplicates' of the same with slight variations . . . which is Lamberville's text, not corrected by Dablon."

⁹ The Relation of 1673-1674 was kept at Quebec and sent to France after 1675.

¹⁰ "La priere a esté accreditée parmy eux—the Kishkakon—plus que Jamais. Le nombre des baptisez a esté de plus de cent ames, entre Lesquelles il y a eu plusieurs adultes, enfin [Le nombre des baptisés a esté de plus de Cent ames Cette année 1673 aux années suivantes, Il a esté encor plus grand, et au dernier hyuernment que le Pere Druillettes a fait avec les sauuages du Sault et en descendant icy bas, Il a baptisé Luy seul Jusqu'a 84 personnes] plusieurs jongleurs touchez de Dieu ont renoncé a leurs superstitions dont ils ont déclaré publiquement La vanité et L'inutilité, temoignant au contraire La force de la priere, dont ils auoient veu et experimenté les effets fauorables." JR, 57:232-234. The winter of 1677-1678 is the last one which Druillettes spent in the West. In the catalogue made in Quebec in October 1678, his name is followed by these words: "linguae algonquinae precept[or] et dictionn[ario] ultimam manum imponit."

¹¹ In 1861, Shea published in his Cramoisy series, no. 13, the *Relation* . . . les années 1672 et 1673 Par le R. P. Claude Dablon . . . A la Nouvelle York . . . M. D. CCC. LXI. This is what Thwaites calls the "Lamberville draft," scil., the original Relation written by Dablon. Shea modernized the spelling, punctuated the text, and unified the copyist's haphazard capitalization.

This shows that several copies of this Relation were kept in Quebec, and it is therefore likely that no copy was sent to France in 1673. " . . . (3) One [copy] in the domestic archives of the Society formerly at the Gesù, in Rome. Of this last Father Martin says, in his introduction to Douniol's *Relations inédites*, that it accords with the one in Montreal, 'save some slight modification which concern the style, and some curtailments of little importance.'"¹² What is here attributed to Father Martin was actually written by Father de Montézon who goes on to say: "We made use of it [the Roman copy] in more than one passage to correct the Canadian [*i. e.*, the so-called 'Lamberville draft'] manuscript, because the copy sent to Rome, which seems to have been made last, is in general more carefully made and more concise, and it has all the authority of the original manuscript."¹³

In the summer of 1939, the present writer asked for a photograph of the copy of the account of the discovery of the Mississippi contained in the Archives of the Province of France. These archives were then at St. Helier, on the Island of Jersey. As was said above, the last three lines of this account appear on the fifth page of the manuscript, and the rest of this page contains the beginning of Dablon's 1674 revision of the Relation of 1672-1673. This explains why the account itself, dated August 1, 1674, is found prefaced to a Relation of the year before. On comparing this first page of the Relation of 1672-1673 with the two variants of this same text as published by Thwaites, and with the corresponding text published by De Montézon, I was able to notice the following facts.

De Montézon's text in the *Relations inédites* is a hodgepodge of Dablon's 1673 original, and of the Roman manuscript, both being recast by De Montézon with interpolations, explanations, and additions. Although De Montézon knew of Dablon's 1674 revision of his original draft, he apparently did not realize the close dependence of the Roman manuscript on that revision. This dependence became obvious when I compared the first page of the Roman manuscript Relation, as found in the Jersey document, with Dablon's 1674 revision as published by Thwaites. It is true that three whole paragraphs of the 1674 revision, to say nothing of a few other unimportant details, are omitted in that first page of the Roman manuscript. But with this exception, the Roman manuscript is almost word for word identical with the 1674 text.

¹² JR., 57:308.

¹³ *Relations inédites*, I, 2.

These bibliographical details were unknown to Thwaites; which is the reason why he wrote that "two widely-different versions" of the Relation of 1672-1673 appeared in print in 1861. The versions to which he refers are Shea's edition of the text as written by Dablon in 1673, and De Montézon's combination of that text and of the "Roman manuscript."¹⁴ In the light of what we have said, the second cannot be called simply a "different version" of the 1673 text. Rochemonteix commented as follows on the *Relations inédites* published by Douniol: "It is regrettable that on [scl., De Montézon] took the liberty of retouching the style of the original manuscript and that the official relations sent to Rome were not printed as they were without making any changes."¹⁵ Rochemonteix thought that both Fathers Martin and De Montézon edited the text, whereas the latter alone is responsible for the changes; and, we may add, Rochemonteix' general strictures of the *Relations inédites* are the rewording of a note by Father Tailhan on the flyleaf of the bound manuscript where Tailhan criticizes De Montézon's edition of the account of the discovery of the Mississippi.¹⁶

As we noted above, in the first page of the Jersey manuscript, besides minor excisions, three paragraphs are omitted which appear in the revised 1674 text. Hence the following questions arise. Did Dablon himself omit these paragraphs from the Relation of 1672-1673 before sending it to France in 1674, or are the omissions attributable to the French editor? If the omissions were made by Dablon himself, then the French copyist of his text merely transcribed it and forwarded it to Rome. If on the other hand Dablon's text was "edited" in France before being given to the copyist, we are confronted with a further problem. Since the account of Jolliet's voyage is found in the same manuscript as Dablon's Relation, and was copied by the same copyist, how can we know whether the Paris "editor" of this text did not also alter the account of the discovery of the Mississippi, which Dablon wrote after interviewing Jolliet? It is impossible to settle this question by comparing the pages of the Jersey manuscript which contain the account of this discovery with some Canadian counterpart, because neither the original of this account nor a copy thereof were among the papers in Canada handed over to Father Martin in 1844.

¹⁴ JR, 57:309.

¹⁵ C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1895-1896, I, xxvii, note 3.

¹⁶ The note is in H. Cordier, *Mélanges Américains*, Paris, 1913, 63.

I believe, however, that, except for a few mistakes by the copyist, the text of this account as published below is the same as that which Dablon sent to France in 1674. After being copied in Paris in 1675, it was sent to Rome, and thence brought back to Paris in the middle of last century. This belief is a conclusion based on the following facts. First, a copy of Dablon's account of the discovery of the Mississippi,¹⁷ which we know was made in Quebec, is the same as the account given in the Jersey manuscript, except for one paragraph which is slightly recast. We know that this copy was made in Quebec from its having been used as the basis of an abridged account written in Quebec and further modified by someone in Paris.¹⁸ Secondly, the unabridged account itself is relatively short—four pages—so that the Paris "editor" would have had no need to shorten it further. Moreover, the man to whom Dablon's manuscript was entrusted in Paris was very probably Father Paul Ragueneau.¹⁹ During the twenty-six years which he had spent in Canada, Father Ragueneau had often heard of the great river of the west; he must have realized the importance of its discovery, and one would hardly expect him to eliminate any passage from this manuscript before having it copied for the archives in Rome.

I know of five extant copies of the original of this document which may be divided into two groups. The first group comprises three manuscripts; the second group two, and these differ from the manuscripts of the first group in one important respect. At the beginning of the manuscripts of this group, and again at the end by way of a clausula, we find in a somewhat recast form the first and second parts, respectively, of a paragraph which occurs in the middle of the document in the first group of manuscripts.

At the outbreak of World War II, the first of these five copies was in the Jesuit Archives of the Province of France. It is this copy which is published below and which has already been described.

¹⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 312, n. 30, the Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH) manuscript.

¹⁸ "Relation de la nouvelle france, 1673," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:176-177v.

¹⁹ The letter of Dablon of October 25, 1674, to Father Jean Pinette, which contains a brief résumé of his account of Jolliet's voyage, was translated from French into Latin by Father Ragueneau in view of communicating it to the General in Rome, Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier, 157, Canada 3. The French text, in an unidentified handwriting, and the Latin translation, in the handwriting of Father Ragueneau, serve as an introduction to the Relation of 1674.

The second copy was in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.²⁰ It is endorsed "A Mon R. Pere de Moins de la Comp[agnie] de Jesus. A Reims." The manuscript is in bad condition, and the lower right-hand corner of the first page is torn off. The name of the addressee suggests that it was sent to Rheims by a fellow Jesuit in Paris. From textual criticism, we can see that, like the Jersey manuscript, it was made on the lost archetype sent to France by Dablon in 1674. Except for a few variants, it reproduces this archetype more faithfully than the next three manuscripts.

The third copy of Dablon's narrative was in the Archives of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, Paris, and it is followed by a letter of Jolliet dated Quebec, October 10, 1674.²¹ Speaking of this letter, Harrisse wrote: "This document mentioned by the Abbé Faillon, . . . is all in the hand of Jolliet and follows on the same page the relation of the discovery of the 'Sea of the South,' sent by Father Dablon from Quebec August 1. This relation is also in the handwriting of Jolliet."²² Harrisse had previously declared that the letter was addressed to Frontenac.²³ As a matter of fact, he was mistaken on both counts: there is no reason at all for thinking that the addressee was Frontenac,²⁴ and the document is certainly not in Jolliet's handwriting.

Jolliet would hardly have written a letter to Frontenac on October 10, 1674, for he himself had been in Quebec since the end of July of that year, and there is positive evidence that the governor had been in the same small town since August 20.²⁵ Moreover, Jolliet had already reported to Frontenac in person, and his map with a dedicatory letter was certainly in Frontenac's hands in mid-October. Gagnon is more correct when he says that the letter of October 10 was "probably addressed to Monseigneur de Laval who was then in France."²⁶ This bishop had helped Jolliet materially at the beginning of his career as an explorer; and Jolliet would naturally have sent his benefactor news of his

²⁰ BN, Moreau, 842:31-32v.

²¹ A photograph of the whole document is in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

²² H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire . . . de la Nouvelle-France . . . 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, 323.

²³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 143.

²⁴ Faillon says that the letter was "probably" addressed to Frontenac. *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, 3 volumes, Villemarie, 1865-1866, III, 314.

²⁵ *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, I, 816.

²⁶ E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississipi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur d'Anticosti*, Montreal, 1913², 73.

discovery of the great river of the west. Neither the opening title of "my Lord" nor the clausula at the end of the letter—an identical clausula is found in an autograph letter of Jolliet's addressed to Seignelay,²⁷ who was at the time minister of the colonies—suffices to identify the addressee as a bishop. But Jolliet's mention of the Blessed Virgin, and his modified quotation of the first verse of Psalm 13, taken together with the opening title strongly support Gagnon's identification.

As for the handwriting of the whole document, narrative and letter, it is not Jolliet's. This erroneous identification was made by Faillon and not by HARRISSE. A comparison between HARRISSE's printed version and the text of the manuscript makes it apparent that HARRISSE himself did not examine the document, but made use of an inferior copy. Thus in HARRISSE's text, there are changes in capitalization, in spelling, in accentuation, in paragraphing; three words in a line of four are omitted, and one word is substituted for another. In view of the meticulous accuracy which is characteristic of HARRISSE's reproductions, we may be sure that he did not have access to the original document when publishing his text. As for the handwriting, anyone who compares this manuscript with identified specimens of Jolliet's script can see at once that this manuscript was not written by Jolliet. It is very likely that Faillon had not then at his disposal samples of Jolliet's handwriting; moreover, as far as he was concerned the question of identifying the writer was unimportant. Considering, however, the theory based on Faillon's erroneous identification, it is important to show that the latter was mistaken.

There are many indications that the whole document, *i. e.*, the narrative and the letter, is merely a copy of the lost originals. The copyist's mark " ./." for instance, is found at the end of every paragraph. Even if it were wrongly supposed that the handwriting throughout is that of Jolliet, and that consequently the letter is his own original work and the rest is his copy of the narrative, this mark would show that the letter too is a copy, for the mark appears after every paragraph of the letter.

Moreover, the account contains several mistakes which Jolliet would almost certainly not have made. To say nothing of two transpositions and of the reading "doigts" for "pieds," which might be due to mere inadvertence, Jolliet could scarcely have written "Petun noir," *i. e.*, black tobacco, for "Petunoir," *i. e.*,

²⁷ Jolliet to Seignelay, November 10, 1685, AC, C 11E, 13:135-136.

pipe; nor would he have said that the great river "est a 500 lieues d'icy Oitaouax," especially since other manuscripts made by copyists who undoubtedly knew far less than he did about the geography of this region contain the correct statement about the location of the Mississippi as being "a 500 lieues d'icy au dela des Outaouïax."

Finally, there is the important fact that Jolliet's name is spelled wrongly whenever it occurs in this manuscript. In the three which I personally examined, besides the Saint-Sulpice manuscript, his name is spelled in two different ways, as the following table shows. In the Saint-Sulpice it is spelled the same throughout.

<i>Saint-Sulpice</i>	<i>Jersey</i>	<i>BN, Moreau</i>	<i>ASH</i>
Joliet	Jolliet	Joliet	Jolliet
Joliet	Joliet	Joliet	Jolliet
Joliet	Joliet	Jolliet	Jolliet
Joliet	Joliet	Joliet	Jolliet
Joliet	Joliet	Joliet	Jolliet

Now, in every known example of Jolliet's autograph, his name has always two "l's," and never just one as in the Saint-Sulpice manuscript. From the fact that the dedicatory letter to Frontenac on the so-called Jolliet map is not in Jolliet's handwriting, and the fact that his signature to this letter contains only one "l" Father Steck concluded that "on his first map Jolliet did not inscribe the letter himself, but had some one do it for him."²⁸ It is precisely these facts, namely, the difference in handwriting and the single "l" in Jolliet's name, which justify our conclusion that the Saint-Sulpice document is not a Jolliet autograph. To defend it as an autograph by saying that "here and throughout the copy Jolliet spells his name as Dablon wrote it—with one l,"²⁹ is most unconvincing. A man seeing his name misspelled in a document which he copies will automatically correct the misspelling. Moreover, how can Father Steck, or any one else know how Dablon spelled Jolliet's name? The original as Dablon wrote it is not longer extant, nor, for that matter is the archetype sent to France in existence; and the table of variants given above

²⁸ F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, Quincy, Illinois, 1928, 173, note 98. It should be observed that the "second or revised map" mentioned by Father Steck in this note was not made by Jolliet, any more than the first for that matter. The map which he drew from memory after his return to Quebec is lost, all that remains are copies based on this lost map.

²⁹ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 174, note 101.

makes it clear that it is impossible to determine how Jolliet's name was written either by Dablon or by the copyist.

Furthermore, if the account of the discovery of the Mississippi in the Saint-Sulpice document is a Jolliet autograph, why did Jolliet leave out the several lines, found in every manuscript, which describe the route to be followed by water from Niagara Falls to the Des Plaines River, where mention is also made of the canal to be built at Chicago connecting the St. Lawrence with the Mississippi basin? This was an original Jolliet idea, which was ridiculed by La Salle a few years later. Again, if this document is a Jolliet autograph, why is it that in the letter itself, which begins at the bottom of the twelfth page of the manuscript, no reference is made to the preceding account which Jolliet supposedly wrote and sent along with this letter? Finally, if Jolliet wrote both the letter and the account itself, how is one to explain his failure to correct apparently divergent statements in these two documents?

Of course, the real proof that Jolliet did not write the Saint-Sulpice document is the handwriting, which is in no way similar to this. The other arguments are merely confirmatory. We can reconstruct to a certain extent what actually took place. Someone at the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice or connected with that institution, probably obtained a copy of Dablon's narrative—there were several copies in Paris at the time—and also secured a copy of Jolliet's letter to Laval, and then transcribed both.

The two manuscripts of the second group are in the Archives du Service Hydrographique³⁰ and in the Bibliothèque Nationale,³¹ respectively. I have not examined the latter, but from what Leland says,³² and from the variants noted by Father Steck,³³ the latter document is a copy of that in the Archives du Service Hydrographique. As we have already noted, the text of both these manuscripts is slightly different from the text of the first group.

A brief consideration of this different version is in place here, because it is one of the many arguments which dispose of a theory fathered by Lorin.³⁴ According to him, the Jesuits did everything in their power to keep from Frontenac, "who cer-

³⁰ ASH, 5: no. 16.

³¹ BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7491:351-355.

³² W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, Vol. I, *Libraries*, Washington, D. C., 1932, 98.

³³ Steck, *op. cit.*, 174, notes 100 and ff.

³⁴ H. Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, Paris, 1895, 77, 93, 99.

tainly would have blamed" them had he known that Marquette had accompanied Jolliet. By way of parenthesis we may add that since Lorin published his doctoral thesis, many others like him, both in this country and in France, have been more concerned with would-be profound explanations, and with idle or absurd speculations, than with establishing the facts on valid evidence. As for Lorin's masterful knowledge of his subject, anyone acquainted with Jolliet's career between 1669 and 1674 should be highly entertained by Lorin's account of it.³⁵

A study of the genesis of the ASH manuscript indicates that far from being ignorant of Marquette's part in the expedition of 1673, the governor of New France was well aware of it. On November 14, 1674, Frontenac wrote to Colbert as follows: "I am sending by my secretary the map which he [Jolliet] made as well as the details which he was able to recall, for he lost all his memoirs and his journal in the shipwreck [which occurred in sight of Montreal . . .]"³⁶ The original Jolliet map spoken of by Frontenac is lost. With regard to the "details" spoken of by the governor, he can hardly be referring to the dedicatory letter which was inscribed on the map, for in this letter Jolliet makes no mention of the Chicago canal, although in Frontenac's letter to Colbert such an undertaking is implied. From La Salle's criticism of it,³⁷ we know that Jolliet had made much of this project. We also know that La Salle went to France with Barrois, Frontenac's secretary, in 1674.³⁸ Hence the source of Frontenac's knowledge of this canal must be Jolliet's own verbal report to him or some document accessible to Barrois, his secretary.

Again, the already mentioned abridgment of the account of the discovery of the Mississippi is a compilation containing information derived from Dablon's narrative and from the letter inscribed on the map.³⁹ An analysis of this compilation shows that its writer did not use Dablon's version but either the ASH document itself or a copy thereof. Now, the Archives du Service Hydrographique is the official depository for narratives of voyages sent from the colonies to the government in Paris, and narratives of Jolliet's voyages to Hudson Bay and to the Labra-

³⁵ *Id.*, *ibid.*, the whole of Chapter III.

³⁶ Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1926-1927* (RAPQ), Québec, 1927, 77.

³⁷ Cf. P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, II, 79, 81, 82, 166-168.

³⁸ Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 78.

³⁹ *Supra*, note 18, printed in Margry, I, 259-262.

dor Coast are kept in the same *carton* with the ASH document. The extant abridgment of the account of Jolliet's voyage to Hudson Bay was published last July in this review.

From these facts, as well as from a passage in the ASH document itself, we conclude that this document was written in Quebec, and that the information it contains includes the "details" mentioned by Frontenac in his letter to Colbert. The corollary of this conclusion is that shortly after the return of Jolliet, Frontenac must have known that Marquette had taken part in the expedition of 1673; for the name of the missionary appears in the second paragraph of Dablon's narrative, and, owing to the different arrangement of the ASH copy of this narrative, Marquette's name is mentioned twice in the second paragraph. As we said above, this is only one of the arguments proving that Frontenac knew all along that a Jesuit had gone with Jolliet.

On the flyleaf of ASH there is an interesting note which deserves a word of comment. The note was written by some unidentified employee of this archival depository—probably in the eighteenth century—and resembles similar notes found on other documents in the same *carton*.

This memoir, short as it is, is interesting because it gives in brief what is found in a detailed narrative of La Salle's voyage, *pièce* no. 5 of this portfolio.⁴⁰

By comparing the dates of these two documents, one can see from this one, dated 1673, that Jolliet had traveled over the country, had already seen, examined, and discovered everything that La Salle also saw and recognized in 1679, 1680, 1681. To give a detailed account was impossible, because the journal of Jolliet was lost in a shipwreck; hence one may suspect that La Salle wanted to get the credit for having discovered that which he knew Jolliet had seen and taken possession of.

That in 1673, Jolliet had gone farther into the interior than La Salle did in 1681 is obvious, for the former went almost to the mouth of the Arkansas River, while the farthest point reached by La Salle in 1681 was the mouth of the Illinois River. That La Salle wished to rob Jolliet of the priority of discovery is a quite unfounded suspicion, and there is no proof that Jolliet

⁴⁰ This narrative is the "Relation des decouvertes," printed in Margry, I, 435-544. The manuscript, now in ASH, 64:no. 4, was at one time in the same portfolio as the narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi. On the drafts of the "Relation des decouvertes," cf. J. Delanglez, "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," *MID-AMERICA*, XXII, 1940, 283-284; the document is discussed in *id.*, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, Chicago, 1941, 55-64.

took possession of the Mississippi basin in 1673,⁴¹ any more than there is proof that La Salle took possession of anything before March 13 and 14, 1682, at the Arkansas, and April 9, 1682, near the mouth of the Mississippi.

When Margry saw this note on the flyleaf of the ASH document he wrote immediately below it: "The one who wrote this note had doubtless no knowledge of the memoirs of Talon and of the Count de Frontenac, or even of the map of Jolliet, all of which speak of the voyages of Cavelier de la Salle [as having taken place] before that of Jolliet." Although it is not specifically stated here, from his reference to the map of Jolliet, Margry is claiming priority of the discovery of the Mississippi for La Salle. This claim is unsupported by the very evidence which he cites. The "memoirs of Talon" speak of some journey of La Salle which did not take farther than the Iroquois country. The "memoirs of the Count de Frontenac" simply say that Jolliet "n'a voyagé qu'après le Sr de la Salle,"⁴² and these memoirs were written not by Frontenac but by Bernou who, at the time, was anxious to boost La Salle's ability as an explorer.⁴³ With regard to the map of Jolliet which mentions La Salle's voyages, the reference to these voyages is an interpolation, and the map is one which Jolliet never saw.⁴⁴

Of the five copies of Dablon's version of the voyage of 1673, that in the Archives du Service Hydrographique was published by Margry.⁴⁵ As is well known, Margry was not very particular when it came to reproducing documents. In the case of the narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi, however, apart from modernizing the spelling of some words, and keeping the old spelling of others, or "archaizing" the spelling of still other words; apart from punctuating, capitalizing, and accenting the text according to the rules of modern French; apart from misreading and excising some words; and finally, apart from omit-

⁴¹ The first mention of a "prise de possession" by Jolliet in 1673 occurs in a document of 1685. In the latter year, on the occasion of a controversy with regard to the extent of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec, M. Dudouyt, Saint-Vallier's vicar-general in Paris, claimed that Jolliet had arbores the arms of the King of France "partout ou le Père Marquette a planté la croix." BN, Clairambault, 1016:629.

⁴² BN, Clairambault, 1016:48v.

⁴³ Cf. J. Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 176-178.

⁴⁴ Cf. *id.*, *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 32-33.

⁴⁵ Margry, I, 262-270. Father Steck, *op. cit.*, 173, note 99, was mistaken when he wrote that "Margry used apparently the Renaudot copy." Margry himself, III, 647, says that the document which he published is from the "Dépôt des Cartes, Plans et Journaux de la Marine," as ASH was referred to until recently.

ting one sentence toward the end which destroys the sense of the passage—quite a few “aparts,” I admit—the document is faithfully reproduced. Margry’s text was reprinted by Thwaites⁴⁶ who preferred it to Douniol’s, because Rochemonteix had written that the document was “not exactly reproduced” in Douniol’s edition, whereas Margry “gives the text very nearly as we read it in the Roman manuscript.”⁴⁷

The present publication of the actual Roman manuscript will enable the reader to compare it with De Montézon’s version in the *Relations inédites*.⁴⁸ On comparison it will be seen that the text of Dablon’s narrative of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition was tampered with by De Montézon in the same way as was the text of the Relation of 1672-1673. Not only did he modernize the spelling, the punctuation, and the capitalization, but he “improved” the style, omitted important clauses, and in recasting whole paragraphs introduced interpretations at variance with the obvious meaning of the text which he was supposedly editing.

The printed text is an exact reproduction of the text of the Jersey manuscript, supplemented by variant readings as described below. In the critical apparatus, no account has been taken of inconsistent spellings; the haphazard punctuation of the other manuscripts has not been inserted; differences of paragraphing and erratic capitalization have not been indicated, and abbreviations which are clearly idiosyncracies of the various copyists, have been ignored. With regard to other variants, the following procedure has been adopted. Words omitted in ASH have been inserted in parentheses (); additions are also indicated in parentheses but the words added are italicized. In the case of substitution the Jersey manuscript reading and the substitution are both given in parentheses, the substitution being put immediately after the Jersey reading. Brackets [], instead of parentheses, indicate the Saint-Sulpice variants. The variants of the other manuscripts are given in the footnotes; the other footnotes are self-explanatory.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

⁴⁶ JR, 58:92-108.

⁴⁷ *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, III, 23, note 1.

⁴⁸ *Relations inédites*, I, 262-270.

DOCUMENT

Relation de la decouverte de la Mer // du Sud // faite par les Riuieres de la nouuelle france // Enuoyé de Quebec par le Pere Dablon // Superieur general des missions de la Compagnie // de Jesus le 1^{er} [Jour d']¹ Aoust 1674.²

Il y a deux ans que Monsieur [le Comte] de frontenac nostre gouverneur et M^r. Talon alors nostre Intendant, jugerent qu'il estoit important de s'appliquer a la decouuerte (de la mer) du midy, apres celle qui a esté faicte de la mer du Nord, et sur tout de scauoir dans quelle mer s'alloit decharger la grande Riuiere dont les Sauvages font tant de recit, et qui est a 500 lieües (d'icy) (d'eux) [au dela des outaouïax] [oitaoüax]. (dans) (Pour) ce dessein ils ne purent faire choix de personne qui eust de plus belles qualités que du sieur Jolliet, qui a beaucoup frequenté (ce pais la) (de ce costé La), et qui (de fait) s'en est acquité avec (toute la generosité, [toute l'adresse,] et) toute la conduite qu'on pouuoit souhaiter.

Estant arriué aux Outaouïax il se joignit au pere Marquette, qui (l') attendoit pour cela, et qui depuis long temps premeditoit cette entreprise, l'ayant bien des fois concerté ensemble /

Ils se mirent (*donc*) en chemin avec cinq autres françois vers le commencement de Juin 1673, pour entrer dans des pais, où jamais (aucun) European (n') auoit mis le(s) pied(s). (Estans partis) (Leur Journal portoit que partant) de la Baye des puants par les 43 degrés quarente minuttes d'eleuation, (ils nauigerent) (vers le commencem^t ils auoient nauigé) sur une petite Riuiere fort douce et fort agreable, pres de 60 lieües tirant vers Loüest suroüest; ils cherchoient un portage de demy lieüe qui les deuoit faire passer de cette Riuiere dans une autre qui venoit du Noroüest, sur laquelle (s')estants embarqués, et ayant fait quarente lieües vers le sorouest, Enfin le 15 [de] Juin, se trouuant a 42 degres et demy, ils entrerent heurusment dans cette fameuse Riuiere que les sauvages appellent Misscisipi, comme qui diroit la grande riuiere, parce que de fait (cest) (elle est) la plus considerable de (*toutes*) celles qui sont de ce pais la; Elle vient de fort loing du costé du Nord, au raport des Sauvages; elle est belle et a pour l'ordinaire un quart de lieüe de large; Elle (*en*) a bien plus aux endroits où elle est coupé

¹ This word is also omitted in the Moreau manuscript.

² The title in ASH reads thus: Relation de La Decouuerte de Plusieurs Pays // situés au Midi de La Nouvelle France faite en 1673. // The opening paragraph of this manuscript is taken from *infra*, note 13.

d'Isles, qui sont neantmoins assés rares, Elle a jusques a dix brasses d'eau et elle coule fort doucement jusqu'a ce qu'elle reçoive la decharge d'une (*autre*) grosse Riuere qui vient de Louest (&) noroüest,³ vers le 38 degrés de hauteur: car estant enflé de ces (deux) eaües, elle deuient si rapide, et a un courant si rude, qu'en remontant on ne peut faire que quatre (a) (ou)⁴ 5 lieües par jour nageant⁵ depuis le matin jusqu'au soir /

Il y a des bois des deux costés jusques a la mer: les plus puissants des arbres qu'on y voit, sont une espece de Cottonnier, qui sont extraordinairement gros et hauts, aussy les sauvages s'en seruent ils pour faire des Canots tout d'une piece, de 50 pieds de long, et trois de large, dans lesquels 30 hommes⁶ avec (*tout*) leur equipage peuuent s'embarquer, ils les trauaillent avec bien plus de petitesse⁷ que nous ne faisons les nostres; (et) ils en ont un si grand nombre, qu'(a) (en) une seule bourgade on en (voit) (vit) jusqu'a Cent quatre vingts ensemble.

Les nations sont placées ou proche la grande Riuere, ou plus loing (dans) (vers) les terres. Nos voyageurs (comtent) (comptèrent) plus de 40 bourgades, dont la pluspart sont composeés de 60 et 80 cabanes quelques unes de 300, comme celle des Illinois qui a plus de huit mille ames, Tous les Sauvages qui (les) (la) composent paroissent d'un bon naturel, ils sont affables et obligeans. /

Nos françois ressentirent les effets de cette Ciuilité (des) (de) la premiere bourgade ou ils entrerent, car cest (lors) (la) qu'on leur (fit) (fait) present d'un baston de Petunoir, long de trois [pieds] [doigts], enuironné⁸ (*et*) façonné de divers plumages, (et) [(ce)] qui est un grand mystere parmy ces peuples (pour) [(par)] ce quil est comme un Passeport et une sauuegarde pour aller en assurance (partout) (parmi toutes Les Nations) sans qu'on ose en aucune (façon) (maniere) offenser ceux qui portent ces caducez. on[n']a qu'a le montrer, et on est assuré de la vie, mesme dans le plus fort [du] combat, comme il y a baston de

³ The insertion of the conjunction changes the sense.

⁴ In the Moreau manuscript "ou" instead of "a" is also found.

⁵ Father de Montézon changed "nageant" into "voguant" on the manuscript. Cf. Tailhan's comment on this "correction" in Cordier, *Mélanges Américains*, 63. Apparently, De Montézon did not know that the verb "nager" also meant "to row" in the seventeenth century.

⁶ "Trois" in Renaudot, instead of "trente," is clearly a distraction of the copyist.

⁷ The other manuscripts have "avec bien plus de politesse," that is, with more finish. The reading in the Jersey manuscript does not make sense. This is one of the variants indicating that the other manuscripts do not depend on the one printed here, but on an archetype no longer extant.

⁸ See the reading in Margry.

paix, il y en a aussy un [autre] de guerre qui ne sont differens neantmoins que par la couleur des plumes dont ils sont couverts; le rouge estant marque de guerre, et les autres couleurs (*signe*) de paix. il y auroit bien des choses a dire de ce baston, aussy bien que des moeurs et des façons de faire de ces peuples, en attendant que nous en receuions le recit, nous dirons seulement que les femmes y sont fort retenu(e)s, aussy leur coupe (ton) (tous) le nez quand elles font mal.

Ce sont elles qui avec les vieillars ont (le) soin de la culture de la terre, et quand les semences sont faites, tous partent ensemble pour aller aux enuirs, a la chasse⁹ des boeufs sauvages dont ils se nourrissent, et se font des habits de leurs peaux, qu'ils passent avec une certaine terre qui leur sert (aussy) de peinture. /

Ce sol est si fertile qu'il(s) (font) (porte) trois fois l'année du bled, Il produit naturellement des fruits qui nous sont inconnus, (mais) (&) qui sont excellens: le(s) raisin(s), les prunes, les pomes, les meures, les marons, les grenades, et quantité d'autres se cueillent partout, et presque en tout temps, aussy (n'y) (ne) connoist ton l'hiver que par les pluyes. /

Les prairies et les forestz partagent egalemt ce pais, qui fournit de beaux pasturages a un grand nombre de bestes dont il est remply, les boeufs sauvages ne fuient jamais, le Pere en a conté jusques a 400. en une seule bande, Les Cerfs (et) les biches, les Cheureuils sont presque partout, les Cocqs d'inde se pourmenent de tous costés, les peroquets y volent par bandes de dix ou douze,¹⁰ Et les Cailles se leuent dans les prairies a tout moment.

C'est au milieu de ce beau pais que nos voyageurs passoient auançant sur la grande riuere jusqu'au 33^e degré de l'eleuation, et allant presque toujours vers le midy: ils rencontroient de temps en temps des sauvages, (desquels) (dont) ils estoient bien receus a la faueur de leur Caducez ou baston de Petunoir [Petun noir] (Calumet), et sur la fin ils aprirent d'eux, qu'ils approchoient des habitations des Europeans (&) qu'ils n'en estoient esloignés que de trois journées, puis de deux seulement, qu'ils auoient¹¹ a la main gauche, et qu'ils n'auoient plus que 50 Lieües pour se rendre a la mer. /

⁹ "Charge" instead of "chasse" in the Moreau manuscript.

¹⁰ This sentence precedes "les Cocqs d'inde . . . costés," in the Saint-Sulpice manuscript.

¹¹ The other manuscripts also have "auoient." De Montézon printed "allassent." Margry transcribed the word correctly, but Thwaites' reprint has: "qu'ils avoient [allassent—*Down.*; *sc.* étoient—*Ed.*] à la main gauche."

Ce fut pour lors que le pere et le S^r. Joliet delibererent sur ce qu'ils auoient a faire, scauoir s'il estoit expedient de passer outre, ne doutant point qu'ils n'allassent se jeter entre les mains des Espagnols de la floride, s'ils auançoient d'auantage, qu'ils exposeroient les françois qui les accompagnoient a un danger euidant d'y laisser la vie, qu'ils perdroient le fruit de leurs (trauaux) (voyages) et qu'ils n'en pourroient pas donner connoissance, s'ils estoient arrestés prisonniers, comme (bien) probablement ils le seroient s'ils tom oient entre les mains (de ces) (des) Europeans. /

Ces raisons leur firent prendre resolution de retourner sur leurs pas,¹² apres s'estre bien informés de Tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter dans une pareille rencontre, ils ne reprirent pas entierement le mesme chemin, s'estans rendus sur la fin de Nouembre a la baye des puants par des routes differentes sans autre guide que leur b(o)ussole.

Nous ne pouuons pas donner cette année toute la (satisfaction) (L instruction) qu'on pourroit esperer d'une decouuerte si considerable, (par ce que) (puisque) le S^r. Joliet, qui nous en apportoit la relation, avec une carte tres exacte de ces nouueaux pais, la perdue par le naufrage qu'il a fait au (dessus) (dessous) du Sault Saint Louis, proche (de) Montreal apres en auoir franchy plus de 40. a peine a t'il pû sauuer sa vie, qu'il a disputeé dans les eaux pendant 4 heures de temps. voicy Toutes fois ce que nous en auons pû recueillir de ce qu'il nous a raconté, l'année prochaine nous en donnerons une pleine relation, Le pere Marquette ayant gardé une Copie de celle qui a esté perdue, on y verra bien des choses capables de Contenter les curieux, et de satisfaire les geographes touchant les difficultés qu'ils peuuent auoir sur la description qu'ils font de ces quartiers de l'amerique septentrionale /¹³

En attendant le journal de ce voyage nous pouuons faire les remarques suiuanes touchant l'utilité de cette decouuerte /

La premiere est qu'elle nous ouure un grand (chemin) (champ) pour la publication de la foy, et nous donne entrée a

JR, 58:100. This is a needless correction. Jolliet told Dablon that the explorers had the Europeans on their left going down, that is, on the east bank of the Mississippi, a clear reference to the Spaniards in Florida. De Montézon's correction does not make sense.

¹² The Moreau manuscript has "en leur pays" instead of "sur leurs pas."

¹³ How this paragraph was recast by the copyist of ASH may be seen by comparing the text as printed here with the first and last paragraphs in Margry or in Thwaites.

des peuples tres nombreux, tres dociles, et bien portés a la recevoir. ayant fait paroistre un grand desir de [revoir] [recevoir] au plustost le pere [et] (d) ayant receu avec (*beaucoup de*) respect les premieres paroles de vie¹⁴ qu'il leur a annoncé, les langues toutes differentes de ces nations ne font pas peur a nos missionnaires : quelques uns (d'eux) (dentre eux) entendent desja et se font entendre des Illinois, qui sont les premiers qu'on (y) rencontre; et c'est chés eux que le pere Marquette (a commencé) (va commencer) a establir le Royaume de Jesus christ. /

La seconde remarque est touchant le terme de cette decouverte. Le pere et le S^r. Joliet ne doutent point que ce ne soit vers le golphe (*de*) Mexique, qui est la floride parce que du costé du leuant ce ne peut pas estre la virginie, dont le bord la mer est (au) (a) plus (au) (de) 34^e degré(z)¹⁵ de l'eleuation, et eux ont marché jusques au 33^e. et cependant n'ont approché de la mer que de 50 lieues: du costé du couchant¹⁶ ce ne peut pas aussy estre la mer vermeille, par ce que leur route ayant presque toujours esté vers le sud, les en detournoit, il reste donc que ce soit la floride, qui est au milieu de l'un et de l'autre, et bien (*plus*) probablement la riuere que les geographes marquent et appellent du S^t. Esprit est Missesipi,¹⁷ sur laquelle nos françois ont nauigé /

La troisieme remarque est que comme il eut esté tres souhaitable¹⁸ que le terme de cette decouverte eust esté la mer vermeille, qui eut donné en mesme temps entréé dans la mer du Japon et de la chine, aussy ne doit on pas desesperer de venir a bout de cettere [autre] decouverte de la mer du couchant, par le moyen de Missisipj, par ce que remontant au Norouest, par la riuere qui si decharge par le 38 degré, comme nous auons dit, peut estre arriuera ton a quelque lac qui (a) (aura) sa decharge vers le couchant, (*qui est*) ce que l'on (rcherche) [(cherche)],¹⁹ et (ce) qui est d'autant plus a esperer, que toutes ces terres sont

¹⁴ The copyist of the Renaudot manuscript omitted the two words "de vie."

¹⁵ The copyist of the ASH manuscript evidently did not understand what Dablon meant. The Moreau manuscript has "... est au plus de 34 degré . . ."

¹⁶ Margry's insertion of a period after this word makes the passage unintelligible.

¹⁷ On this opinion of Dablon, cf. "El Rio del Espíritu Santo," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 155-156.

¹⁸ "Raisnable" instead of "souhaitable" in the Moreau manuscript.

¹⁹ The word is spelled "cherge" in ASH; the Jersey copyist clearly meant to write "recherche."

remplies de lacs²⁰ et coupeés de riuieres, qui donnent de merueilleuses communications à ces pais, des uns aux autres, comme on (en) peut juger (par)²¹

La quatriesme remarque (qui touche) (regarde) un auantage bien (*grand & bien*) considerable, et qu'on aura peut este (*de la*) peine a croire, c'est que nous pourrions (assés) aisement²² aller jusqu'a la floride en barque, et par une fort belle navigation, il n'y auroit qu'une seignéé a faire, coupant demye lieüe de prairie seulement, pour entrer du fond du lac des Illinois dans la riuere (de) St. Louis, [voicy la route qu'on tiendrait, la barque se deuroit faire dans le lac Erié qui est proche de Lontario. Elle iroit aisement (de) (du lac) Erié dans le lac huron d'ou elle entreroit dans le lac des Illinois, au fond duquel on feroit la trancheé ou la canal dont jay parlé, pour auoir passage dans la riuierre (*de*) St. Louis,]²³ qui se decharge dans Missisipi, y etant la barque(nauigeroit) (nauigable) facilement jusqu'au golphe de Mexique: Le fort de Catarokouy que M^r. le comte de

²⁰ "Bois[!]" instead of "lacs" in Margry.

²¹ The reading of the Jersey manuscript is the correct one, and reproduces that of the archetype. The Saint-Sulpice manuscript has "Comme on en peut juger par la./." The reading in ASH, and therefore, in Margry and in Thwaites, is as shown in the text, "comme on peut juger." De Montézon printed the following, "comme on peut en juger par ce que nous voyons . . ."; adding in a note: "Ici quelques mots manquent dans le manuscrit." Thwaites commented on this reading as follows: "This, and various important differences in the text, show that Margry and Martin [i.e., De Montézon] used different copies of this document . . . the additional phrase and the hiatus may be a reference to a map drawn by Joliet." JR, 58:294, note 8. All the surmises about this passage prove needless when the text is read as the author, Dablon, meant it to be read. Father Steck, in particular, could have spared us his philological remarks concerning the "meaning of the French idiom." *Father Garraghan and "The Joliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673,"* [1930], 11. The word is not "là" but "la," that is, the feminine definite article agreeing with "remarque"; its place is not at the end of the paragraph where the copyist of the Saint-Sulpice manuscript has it, but at the beginning of the next. As can be seen, the ASH and the Saint-Sulpice copyists did not understand what they were copying. Yet what Dablon meant is perfectly clear. He hoped that a passage as easy as that between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi basins, would also be found between a tributary of the Mississippi—the Missouri—and the headwaters of a river emptying into the Sea of the West. The network of lakes and rivers of which he was told by Joliet "affords a wonderful means of communication between these countries, as one can judge from the fourth remark which treat of a very important advantage. . . ." It thus turns out that the explanation of this passage is much simpler than that of those who seem to take pleasure in looking for "midi à quatorze heures." It cannot be said that this explanation could only be given by one who had access to the Jesuit private archives, for the Moreau manuscript has the same reading, and the latter document, in the public archives of France, could have been consulted by any one who so desired.

²² "Facilement" in the Moreau manuscript.

²³ This is the passage left out by the copyist of the Saint-Sulpice manuscript.

frontenac a fait construire sur l'ontario, fauoriserait beaucoup cette entreprise, par ce qu'il faciliteroit la communication de Quebec au lac Erié, d'ou ce fort n'est pas beaucoup esloigné et sans une cheute d'eau qui separe (*le lac*) Erié d'auec (*celuy de*) l'ontario la barque qui se (*bastit*) (*bastiroit*) a Catarokouy, pourroit aller jusqu'a la floride, par les routes que ie viens de marquer. /

La Cinquiesme [remarque] est [touchant] les grans auantages qu'il y a detablier de nouuelles colonies dans de si beau pais, et sur des terres si fertilles. voicy ce qu'en dit le[dit] Sieur Joliet, car c'est (*La*) sa penseé, dans le commencement lors que l'on (*me*) parloit de ces terres sans arbres, Je m'y imaginois un pays bruslé, ou (*bien*) que la terre y estoit [si] chetiuue qu'elle n'y pouuoit rien produire: mais nous auons (*bien*) remarqué le contraire, et il ne s'en peut trouuer de meilleur, n'y pour les bleds, n'y pour la vigne n'y pour quelques (*autres*) fruits que ce soit.

La Riuiere que nous auons nommée de S^t. Louis, et qui [*nous*] vient [de proche] du fond du lac des Illinois, m'a paru la plus belle, et la plus facile pour estre (habituée) [(habitée)]. l'endroit par lequel nous sommes entrés dans ce lac, est un haure fort commode pour y receuoir les vaisseaux, et les mettre a l'abry du vent, Cette riuiere est large et profonde, remplie de Barbues [et] desturgeons. le gibier y est en abondance, les boeufs, les vaches, les cerfs, (*les biches*), les Cocqs d'Inde y paroissent beaucoup plus qu'ailleurs, pendant l'espace de 80 lieües²⁴ Je nay pas esté un quart d'heure sans en voir, il y a des prairies de trois, de six, de dix, et de 20 lieües de long, et de trois de large, enuironnées de forests de mesme estendue, au dela desquel(*le*)s les prairies recommencent, en sorte qu'il y a autant de l'un que de l'autre, on rencontre quelques fois les herbes fort basses (quelques fois) (& d'autrefois)²⁵ on les voit hautes de cinq (et) [(a)]²⁶ six pieds. le chanure qui y croit naturellement, monte jusqu'a huit piedz /

Un habitant n'emploiroit (point [les dix anneés]) [dix ans] (pas La des dix ans) a abbatre le bois et a le brusler: des le mesme jour qu'il y (arriveroit) (entreroit), il mettroit la charüe en terre, et s'il n'auoit pas des boeufs de france, il se seruiroit de ceux du pais, ou (*bien*) de ces animaux qu'ont les

²⁴ The Renaudot manuscript has "8" instead of "80."

²⁵ This sentence, one line in ASH, was overlooked by Margry. Thwaites supplied it from Douniol.

²⁶ "Ou" in the Moreau manuscript.

sauvages de Loüest, sur lesquels ils se font porter comme nous sur (nos) (Les) cheuaux, apres la semence de toute sorte de grains, il s'apliqueroit surtout a planter [de] la vigne, et a enter des arbres fruitiers, (a passer) des peaux de boeufs, (dont) il(s) se feroi(en)t des souliers, et de leur(s) laine(s) (ils se feroient) des estoffes, qui (seroient beaucoup) (seront) plus fines, que (*plusieurs de*) celles (que) (qu'on) nous (apportons) (apporte) de france: (&) ainsy il(s) trouueroi(en)t (*aissement sur le pays*) de quoy se nourrir et se couvrir, rien (ne) (ny) [manquant] [manqueroit] que le sel, mais il ne seroit pas bien difficile d'obuier a cette inconvenient, par (des) (les) precautions qu'on peut prendre./.²⁷

Relation des missions les plus proches des habitations
françoises les années 1672 et 1673

De la mission de nostre dame de foye proche de Quebec.

Les bons chrestiens de cette mission. . . .²⁸

²⁷ The short paragraph added to the copy in ASH is taken from the paragraph omitted *supra*, note 13.

²⁸ These are the opening lines of the 1672-1673 Relation. They occur at the top of page 5 of the manuscript, immediately after the narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi.

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